

ACCOUNT
OF THE PERSECUTION
OF THE
CHURCH
IN
SCOTLAND
IN SEVERAL
LETTERS

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ACCOUNT

PERSECUTION

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LETTERS

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Good Christian Reader,

BI the help of a very little Natural Logick, thou mayst easily observe how far some Mens specious Pretences are out-done by their Actions; their Principles (to which they ought to stand in the Opinion of their great Master Hobbs) exceeded and baffled by their Practice, since those very Persons who lately Addressed for Liberty of Conscience, in Words full of flattery, do now Usurp, Tyrannize over others, and deprive them not only of their freedom in Religious Concernments, but of their Possessions; and (that no Barbarity may be omitted,) even of their precious Lives, only for adhering to that Holy Doctrine which was once delivered to the Saints, and often established by sundry Laws in that Kingdom.

And it will be no hard matter, after the perusal of the following Sheets, to perceive the vast difference between an English and a Scotch Persecution, (as some call it) how gently and orderly the Church of England proceeded against the Dissenters, in comparison of the Kirk; who by their Clubs and Batoons, have come near to, if not outdone, the merciless Fury of French Dragooning.

And here it may be worthy remark, how dangerous it is for the best Constituted Established Government to connive at, not to say encourage, the profane Vulgar in their Riots, a number of wild Beasts, let loose, have as much Conduel, less Malice, and cannot do half the Mischief: The noise of the Waves, the raging of the Sea, may as soon be stilled, as the madness of the People; it is a Work only for a power Almighty:

To the READER.

that many-headed Beast ought to be carefully looked after and watched.

But further, methinks it is also very clear by the subsequent Tract, that in some Parts of the World there are a company of Resolute Christians, that dare lay down their Lives for the Truth of those Doctrines which they have formerly Taught; and that in those Places there may be a large History written, not only of the Doctrine, but real Practice of Passive Obedience, in the Sufferings of those Men, who contrary to the new Maxims of Government, pay Obedience where they can have no Protection.

And now, Christian good Reader, if thou shalt be convinced of the Verity of these foregoing Deductions, by the subsequent undeniable Truths, I have but one thing to request from thee, and that is no more than what thy Profession will oblige and command thee; I mean, to put on Bowels of Mercy and Compassion to the Poor, Afflicted, Distressed, to help them as much as thou art able with thy Substance, and to extend that Charity which is already gone over the Alps, and hath assisted the Protestants in France, Hungary, and Piedmont, to thy Neighbouring Brethren, and of thy Communion, in Scotland: and if thy Circumstances are too mean to assist them with thy Purse, be sure to let them have thy Charity for their Sufferings, in thy hearty Prayers for a happy and sudden Deliverance from those who so Cruelly and Despightfully use them.

Farewel.

The

The First LETTER.

My Lord,

Some instance of my Duty to Your Lordship may be justly expected, though at this distance; and none I think more seasonable and proper from this Place than the present Condition of the Church of Scotland; which though Your Lordship may more fully understand from some other better able to give it, yet that Consideration is no Apology for my Silence in so important an Affair; and this use at least will be made of my Attempt, to testify to Your Lordship, how ready I shall be to give an account of other Transactions not so well known at London.

THE Church of Scotland is at this time under the Claw of an enraged Lion; Episcopacy abolished, and its Revenues alienated; the Clergy routed, some by a form of Sentence, and others by violence and popular Fury; their Persons and Families abused, their Houses ransack'd, their Gowns torn to pieces, with many other Injuries and Indignities done them, which I forbear naming, that I may not martyr your Lordship's Patience by the bare recital of them. My Post in the Army, as it has carried me unto many places of this Kingdom, so it has given me as many Opportunities to see and lament their Condition.

The Occasion of all these Disasters, is, the prevailing Strength of the *Cameronian Party*; a Faction here, taking its Name from one *Cameron*, formerly their Leader, and who was slain in his Rebellion: They are a sort of Presbyterians, or rather Fifth-Monarchy-men, valuing neither *K. William* nor *K. James*, any farther than as these Princes happen to please them: Some designing Heads in the Council and Parliament, have made use of those Mens Hands to bring their Ends about, whose Weakness otherways was too discernable. From these Disorders they represent abroad the Inclination of the People to the Presbyterian Government, and alledge the Popular Zeal; when it is highly suspected they are only Tumults of their own making, other-
ways,

ways, upon the Complaints and Petitions of injur'd Persons, Redress might be obtained; which however they are so far from, that after such Remonstrances they fare the worse, and have this Aggravation to their Miseries, that they are unpitied by those who ought to protect them; nay, now at last the Government it self is become a Party against them; and where before good Neighbourhood and well affected Persons screened their Ministers from the Dissenters Barbarity, now they suffer by a Form of Law, Acts of Council, and are themselves reputed Malignants, and suffer as a discontented Faction People.

And yet the Church-Party, both for Number and Quality, was predominant in this Nation. The Nobles and Gentry are generally Episcopal, and so the People, especially Northward, where, to my own Knowledge, they are so well affected, that it would be no hard Task to bring them, *Cultui & Ritibus cum Anglis Communibus subscribere*, as Buchanan saith the Ancient Scots did when they stood in fear of the French, and desired England's Assistance against them. My frequent Reading of our Service, and Preaching in their Churches to the Auditories Satisfaction, the Carcases of the Gentry, and respect of the Ordinary People, whenever I met them, infers so much, and plainly discovers that they neither abhorred me nor my way of Religion.

At Perth I was readily admitted into the Church and Pulpit, tho the Magistrates refused the same Favor to the Lord Cardross, a Privy Counsellor, and the Lord Argyle, in behalf of two Cameronian Preachers; and though the former of these forced his way thither upon one Sunday, yet the Lord Provost was better provided against another, and took the same method, I mean the Strength of the City, to oppose and baffle the latter; and when it was urg'd by both these Lords, that that Liberty they desired was granted to me some Sundays before, the Magistrates excus'd themselves with an Order to that purpose from Sir John Lanier. Even at Edinburgh it self the Faction was so weak, that they were forced to send privately to the West for assistance, before they durst attempt any violence against the regular Clergy; but the College of Justice being informed of their coming, armed themselves and their Friends, and so were secured both they and their Ministers, until an Order was obtained for laying down their Arms again. Indeed at Glasgow the Faction is stronger, and this Town may be said to be the warmest Nest of the Cameronians; and yet, to my Knowledge, the most considerable, and Persons of the best Quality, are very well affected, and would prevail, were it not for the

the Assistance of the Mountaineers, which the Malignants have sometimes brought privately into the Town to assault and over-awe the others. But then it is a wonder the Adversary succeeded so well, and that they have got to such an Ascendency as to ruin the Church, if it be supposed that the Church was so strong to have acted in her own Safety; yet it is not much to be admired at, if this be considered; That in the beginning of this Revolution, the Episcopal Party in Scotland, not knowing at that time how far things would go, judged it safest for them to keep at a distance; and having a deep Impression of their Allegiance to King James, they appeared a little too tender and unconcerned in the Election of Members for the Convention: by which means the Discontented and Presbyterian Party, as they are in themselves always very active, so upon this occasion they became more numerous, and carried it against those few Gentlemen that shewed themselves for the Church and old Constitution. The first Instance and Discovery of their new Strength, was their carrying the Vote for the Committee about controverted Elections; a Point not obtained with difficulty, as the Convention was then composed; and the consequence was, That no Episcopal Gentleman should be admitted in case of a competition, let the number of Electors in Shire or Borough be never so unequal; nay, many were allowed to be Members of that Convention, who were incapable to sit by the most ancient Laws of the Kingdom, either in Convention or Parliament, and especially such as were not inest in their Estates, of which, Instances might be given. The Episcopal Party finding this, most of the Nobility withdrew themselves both from Convention and Parliament: and if my Lord Dundee had lived, (who was a great Patron of this Clergy) none doubts but that he had changed the whole State of Affairs in this Nation: And having mentioned that Gentleman's Name, I insert one Word concerning the Troubles of which he seemed to be the whole occasion in this Country, but did no more I think than what a great many others would have done, on the same reason of Self-preservation. It appears then, that, in the beginning he sat in the Convention, and intended so to do, till he heard of a design on foot to assassinate his Person: he complained of this to the Convention, and desired their Protection, but no notice was taken of it: he repeated his Complaints, and offered to prove the Attempt, and declared that without the Assistance of their Authority, he held it not safe to attend any longer. But all this to no purpose; the only Answer he had, was, that his Non-attendance would be no great loss to them. Hereupon he withdrew.

drew himself to the Mountains; and being a Person of great Spirit and good Conduct, he was resolved not only to defend himself, but call them also to an Account whom he found so much incensed and set against him; and it is generally believed here, he would have gone no further. — But enough of this.

The only means, My Lord, to remedy all this, is, the Dissolution of this Parliament; and then it is not to be doubted but the Episcopal Party will shew their own Strength, and concern themselves more in a new Election than they did in that before; for their eyes are now sufficiently opened, and they see, though somewhat late, their former Omission and Mistake; but withal, see no possibility to relieve themselves if this Parliament continue. Indeed they wonder that his Majesty can be very fond of keeping it a foot, since they have taken away so eminent a Branch of his Prerogative, as to deny him a Sovereign Interest here, in what is debatable in Parliament: They wonder that his Majesty is not sensible how little they value the promoting of his Service, that notwithstanding the great necessity of his Affairs, they have not thought fit to give him a Penny: They wonder how the Presbytery of the Church can sure Monarchy in the State, and that one Ruler should give encouragement to the setting up of many: They wonder how it comes to pass that the Clergy of Scotland should be, by a form of Law, turn'd out of their Benefices for not praying for King *William* and Queen *Mary*, *in terminis*, when the Intruders themselves, as I have observed, refuse to do it in their usurped Pulpits; and it is equally strange, that even these Gentlemen that have complied in that particular, and in reading the Proclamation, are notwithstanding dismiss'd their Charges by some other Libel, or in case any be wanting, to set the Rabble to work to out them. So that seeing no Obedience can secure them, but that they are destin'd for Sacrifices to those wild People; this is the reason why as yet they have made no Address to the King, nor think themselves encouraged to do it, since their inveterate and implacable Enemies have His Majesties Ears so much, as to make such an Attempt of no effect to them: And, my Lord, they also wonder, that the Church of *England* endeavours not to interpose, and move the King to pity them in their present Calamity, since the violent Party in *Scotland* will certainly inflame the Discontented in *England*, for they are sworn by their Covenant to Reform *England* upon their model; and to purge the Neighbour-Land from Popery and Superstition. My Lord, I have had the Honor and Happiness to converse with the Clergy here

here of the first form, and I find them very Reverend, and as far as I can judge, very Learned and Judicious Gentlemen; they are exceedingly wronged by the Faction, when they are called Ignorant and scandalous; it's an unjust Calumny to say they would have betrayed the Laws, which were made for the Defence and Security of the Protestant Religion, when all the Bishops of *Scotland*, two excepted, were unanimous against the Repeal of the Penal Laws against the Papists in my Lord *Murray's* Parliament 1685. And as great is the popular Mistake concerning the Bishops Revenues, which they will have to be one Arbitrary Stipend from the Crown, which makes them precarious and subservient to the Prince's Will; whereas their Incomes are as independent in that respect, as the Bishopricks of *England*, and have their several Localities, as they are here called, or Tythes and Mannors, to support them. These and the like Objections against them and the regular Clergy, are only Inventions to countenance some Mens Resolutions, right or wrong, to ruin them: And indeed, that they are so resolved, not only against the Bishops, but all the Episcopal Clergy, is evident from hence, that notwithstanding they have those Qualifications which are even now requisite for the exercise of their Ministry, as, Praying for the King, &c. — yet some other Objection is rais'd against them; and this now is a very influencing one, That if all the rest of the Parish be Church-People, and well disposed to their Minister, and but one single Dissenter among them, it is a sufficient Reason to eject and deprive him, how industrious soever the others are to continue him with them; as in the instances of the Ministers of *Moussgard*, *Collingtoun*, *Kirkcubright*, and *Kirkcaldy*, not to mention several Hundreds, that have been routed by the Rabble, and yet are never restor'd to the purpose, nor have opportunity to shew whether they will comply or no.

My Lord, if the perfect knowledge of these Things has made some Impression on me, it's no wonder, upon the account of common Christianity. I am sorry for the Distress of this Church; and in compassion to it, I wish I were able to contribute any ways to the Relief and Recovery of it. This is all I can do in order to that, to give Your Lordship the best Account I can of her present Circumstances; and what hopes she has in prospect upon the Dissolution of this Parliament.

What Interest Your Lordship has with Their Majesties, is a thing well understood : here I humbly recommend the Matter to Your Lordship. I beg pardon for this Interruption given Your Lordship, by one who desires at all times to shew himself, though he may fail in the manner of it,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most obedient

Waiter and Servant.

Glasgow, Octob. 12. — 89.

P O S T S C R I P T.

We are hastening to the Sea-side, to be transported into *Ireland*, an Expedition no way suited to a Man of my Constitution; but I submit to my Lot, and humbly intreat Your Lordship to consider me,

The Second LETTER.

S I R,

I Received yours of the date, &c. wherein as you express a mighty Concern for the distress'd Episcopal Clergy within this Kingdom, so you prescribe me a task which will not be so easily perform'd as ye imagine: You tell me, strange Representations are made of them by their Enemies, and disseminated through the whole Kingdom of *England*; you therefore require me to give you a just and true account of their present State and Persecutions; assuring me, it is not so much to satisfy your Curiosity, as to enable you for their Vindication. This, I say, is a very hard task; for, to digest an Account of that nature to purpose (in my opinion) would require the diligence
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of a great Head, the expence of much Time, and a considerable Volume; for 'tis hardly possible to set their Circumstances in their due light, without deducing their Affairs from the very Reformation, and dipping in Matters of State all alongst; as well as of Ecclesiastical Concerns; so closely have the two Interests been still linked together in this Kingdom: without that, Strangers will never understand sufficiently, either our Constitution; or the Grounds on which the Clergy have been obliged to go in many Transactions: neither will they be able to perceive how unjust and calumnious the Representations be which are made by their Adversaries, nor how partial they are in their Accounts, nor how carefully they take all things by the wrong handle, industriously presenting the dark side of things to the World, where there is any intricacy; and many times blackening even that which is truly fair and beautiful, when it makes for their purpose.

Such a work as that, I am hopeful, ye may see ere long; for I have good reason to believe, some abler Pen than mine will be employed that way by and by; and therefore I was once inclined to have referred you intirely to it: but calling to mind again, what earnestness ye express, to have if it were but some overly notice of our Case; and withal considering, that herein you may be gratified without prejudice to that more full and large Account: and likewise, that perhaps a present Account (though never so short and rude) may have its proper usefulness; I have prevailed with my self to cast together what follows. I will use as few Words as I can, and perhaps I shall not be careful to observe exact Order and Method: but I hope your Goodness will pardon that, upon my promising to tell you nothing but what can be made appear to be true, beyond all contradiction.

I take my Rise from the Death of that Great Prince, King *Charles* the Second. He left this Church of *Scotland* in more peaceful condition than it had been of a long time before: it was united to a very desirable degree: Generally all *Scotchmen* were of one Communion; for those of the Popish Persuasion were scarcely one to five hundred. The *Quakers* were not one to a thousand. The *Presbyterians*, a good time before, were divided into two Sects, one (but by far the smaller) was against all Indulgences given by the King; the other had taken the Liberty which he had several times granted, but was then retracted. This Party had for the most part returned to the Churches Unity; their Preachers were generally become our Hearers, attended duely our Publick Assemblies, and many participated of the same Sacraments with us. There were no separate Meetings kept (at least

publickly,) but very rarely, and only by that other Party, now commonly known by the Name of *Cameronians*, from one Mr. *Richard Cameron*, who (being sometimes School-master at *Falkland*, and turn'd out of that Employment for insufficiency) betook himself to the Trade of Field-preaching, became wonderfully admired of the giddy Multitude, was killed at last in open Rebellion at *Airdsmoss*, and so commended Martyr Anno 1680.

This is that Party with whom these sharp Methods were taken, which are complain'd of in the P. of O. his Declaration for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and hugely aggravated by the Paper call'd the *Scotch Inquisition*. But had his Highness known their Practices (how they (by their Manifesto's) rejected King *Charles* as their Sovereign, made many Declarations of War against him, Excommunicated him, and (when they had opportunity) murdered those, who (in their Stations according to their duty,) any ways supported his Government, especially Bishops, Ministers, and Soldiers, pretending it was done in a just War, and they had Commission from King *Jesus* for it, &c.) I doubt he would never have made the Treatment they met with a grievance: and if the World knew it (as perhaps it may, sooner or later) certainly it would have but a very mean Opinion of the Author of that most scurrilous Pamphlet: I only said their Practices, for all *Presbyterians* (at least in *Scotland*, as will appear in the Sequel) have really the same Principles: The only substantial difference is, the *Cameronians* are the more ingenuous Party, the rest the more subtle. These own their Principles when they think it seasonable; those (like the honest Men) upon all occasions: by these *Cameronians* (I say) Conventicles were only then kept; and they were condemned for it by the rest of the *Presbyterians*, who at that time (in pretence at least) had fallen in love with Moderation.

When King *James* came to the Throne, *Monmouth* in *England*, and *Argyle* in *Scotland* (you know) rais'd a formidable Rebellion. *Argyle* gave out his Manifesto's, and made many specious Pretences, &c. it appeared he was earnest to have had the *Presbyterians* joyn with him; but his Conditions did not please the *Cameronians*; and the rest continued still as formerly in the King's and Churches Peace. This made us all hopeful, they had once resolv'd seriously never to divide any more, and weaken the Protestant Interest, by rending the Church in pieces: but it seems they went then on other Principles. They found *Argyle's* Attempt desperate, and their Party weak, and they had smarted lately for Enterprises of that nature; there-

therefore they found it convenient to wait a fitter Opportunity.

When that Rebellion was quash'd, King *James*, being a Roman Catholick, turn'd serious to have some ease granted to those of his own Persuasion; so the business of the Penal Statutes came to be managed: for this end, it was resolved the Parliament should meet; and before it sat, several Persons of greatest Note within the Kingdom were called up to *London*; the Duke of *Hamilton*, Sir *George Lockart* (the greatest Lawyer in the Kingdom) then President of the Session, &c. Their Errand was to concert Matters, and make way for the King's Inclinations in that particular; amongst the rest, the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and the then Bishop of *Edinburgh*, now Archbishop of *Glasgow*. They made a Condescension too, which afterwards was very much talked of; but I can assure you, Sir, it was nothing so odious in it self as it was represented to be: I have seen it and considered it; it did not go the length (by far) of Pensionary *Fagel's* Letter; and to tell the Truth freely, so far as I can comprehend things, they had great reason to go so far as they went; and I doubt not it shall be sometimes published to the World; and fully vindicated. But I go on.

The Parliament met; all the Members were qualified according to Law; they took the Test, &c. But the Court-designs prevailed not; the Penal Statutes were still kept on foot by that Episcopal Parliament (pardon the Phrase, 'tis ordinary in this Kingdom) and some of the Bishops too were active in the matter. This, to let you see whether the Episcopal Party in this Kingdom can be said to be inclin'd for Popery.

This Disappointment irritated his Majesty; wherefore, the next great step was, the suspending, stopping, and disabling all the Laws against Dissenters, and granting a Toleration to Christians of all Persuasions. This was done by publick Proclamation: the first Edition was dated *Feb. 12. 1683*. The Presbyterians, as much as any Men, stood amaz'd at the Dispensing Power at first, and seem'd to see clearly the ill consequences of a Breach in that juncture. This themselves frankly confess'd at the beginning; and I know it was therefore once very near to a general Resolution amongst them, never to take the benefit of it: This all know, that for some Months after the publication of it, no considerable Breach was made; they still continued in the same Communion with us.

Ye will easily believe (I think) this grated the Popish Party; for they saw evidently, if the Unity of our Church was not broken, their

their Interests would advance but very slowly; so pains were taken with the Presbyterians to make them separate. And because perhaps they might scruple at the Oath contained in the first Edition of the Toleration, a second Edition, without that Oath, was obtained and published. Whether the Arguments which were made use of to engage them, prevailed with them; or by that time the second Edition came out (which was *June 28. 1687.*) they had considered the Strength of their Party, and found they would be able to make a Figure; or they had then got secret Instructions from *Holland*, to comply with the Dispensing Power, in Subserviency to the ensuing Revolution (for which I know there be very strong Presumptions) I shall not readily determine. This is certain, they closed presently with the second Edition.

'Tis true, they pretended the Terms in the first were too grievous; and that considerable Mitigations were made in the second, so they could not any longer be disobedient to the Divine Providence, (you cannot quarrel the Expression, when ye know that according to their Divinity, Providential Occurrences make a considerable part of the Rule of Faith and Manners) nor neglect so blest an opportunity; although 'tis evident to any who compares the two Proclamations, that there are no material Alterations. 'Tis certain the second was design'd to carry on the same Interest with the first, and it had altogether as much of the Dispensing Power in it: both alike required, that whoever would have the benefit of the Toleration, should own the King's absolute Dispensing Power, by which it was granted; only the Oath contained in the first, was left out in the second: but even in the first it was not absolutely required; for the Proclamation says no more, but that instead of all former Oaths required by Law, That only should be taken and sworn by all His Majesties Subjects, or such of them as he or his Privy Council should require so to do: and moreover, it was entirely dispensed with by the King's Letter to his Council, dated *March 31. Anno 1687.* So that it can never be pretended as a Reason why they did not separate for three Months hereafter.

Thus the great Schism began amongst us: the Toleration was its Parent, and that was the Child of the Dispensing Power. But before I proceed to shew how it was carried on, let me remark one thing; it is, whatever now they may pretend, it was no ways any Principle of Conscience which made them separate from us on that occasion. My Reasons are these: They had lived in Communion with us for
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some Years before the first Edition of the Toleration : they continued so, even for some Months after that Edition, *viz.* till they got the second ; at least, very few broke off in that interim. While they lived in Communion with us, they acknowledged their Consciences allowed them ; indeed, what sort of Christians had they been, if it had not been so ? Many (I can find their Names if I be put to it) thanked God, that they were reconciled to us, and frequently protested all the World should never again engage them in the Schism ; nay, some of the ablest of their Preachers, (within a very few Weeks before they embraced the Toleration) said to some of the Regular Clergy, they should never do it ; they were resolved never to Preach more in their life time. Further yet, some of them, even after the second Edition, continued for a long time resolved never to engage in it ; and it cost their Brethren much pains, before they could overcome that Resolution ; yea, they tell us to this very day, if they were deprived of their Liberty, they could return to us again. Can there be clearer Evidences for any thing than these are, that it was not Conscience, but some other Interest, that involved them in such a general Apostacy from one of the greatest Concerns of Christianity, the Unity of the Church ? Indeed, how could ever Conscience be pretended in the Matter ? We had not the least sinful Condition in our Communion : We still maintain'd what themselves ; the same Articles of Faith ; we worshipped God after the same manner : there is no imaginable Difference between Them and Us in the Administration of Sacraments : if the Orders of the Church of England be valid, so are ours. All that was ever controverted amongst us, was the Point of Church Government : 'tis true, we use the Lord's Prayer and the Doxology, and commonly require the Creed in Baptism, which they do not : if these can justify a Separation, we are guilty : but if they can, let the World judge. And now these things being so, I would further ask any Man this Question ; Whether, when they make such Clamors now concerning their by-past Sufferings, it can be said, that ever they suffered for Conscience sake ? This by the way.

So was the Schism circumstantiate, as I have said ; and being once begun, it was wonderful to see how soon it came to a considerable height : within a few Weeks, Meeting-Houses were Erected in many Places, especially in the Western Shires, (the great Nests of Fanaticism) and the Churches were drain'd : Altar was set up against Altar, and the pretended Presbyter against the Bishop. All Arts were used ;

used to increase their Party, and render the Regular Incumbents contemptible; People were not left to their own choice, to joyn or not joyn with them, but all methods of Compulsion, except down-right Force, were taken to engage them: If any Man went to Church (whither all had gone very lately) he was forthwith out of favour with the whole Gang: if he was an Husbandman, his hap was good if his Neighbors Cartel were not fed amongst his Corns in the Night-time: if he was a Tradesman, no Employment for him: if a Gentleman of an Estate (a Laird as we call them) his own Tenants would abuse him to his face, and threaten him twenty Violences: in short, nothing was left untryed that had the least probability of weakning our hands or strengthening their own.

On the other hand, never a more thankful People to His Majesty. Addresses, you know, were then much in fashion, and none more forward than they; witness that famous ope, entituled, To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, The Humble Address of the Presbyterian Ministers in His Majesties Kingdom of Scotland; and at the foot, Subscribed in Our Names, and in the Names of the rest of the Brethren of our Persuasion at their desire; in which Address,

They His Majesties most Loyal Subjects, from the deep sense they have of His Majesties gracious and surprizing Favour, in not only putting a stop to their long sad Sufferings for Nonconformity, but granting them the Liberty of the publick and peaceable exercise of their Ministerial Function; as they bless the great God, who put it in his Royal Heart, so they do withal find themselves bound in duty to offer their most humble and hearty Thanks to his Majesty. Then they make vast Protestations in behalf of their Loyalty, His Majesty is but just to them when he believes them Loyal; and by the help of God they will so demean themselves, as His Majesty may find cause rather to enlarge than diminish his Favors towards them; and they humbly beseech, That all who promote any disloyal Principles or Practices (as they do disown them) may be looked upon as none of theirs, whatsoever Name they may assume to themselves.

And indeed for a good time, (even till they had made a good Party, and the Prince of O. was coming) they continued moderate and thankful to a Miracle; for tho by vertue of that same Toleration, swarms of Popish Priests were let loose through the whole Kingdom, infinitely active to gain Converts, compassing Sea and Land to make one Profelyte, yet seldom so much as one Word against Popery in any Meeting-house; whether it was that they thought it indiscreet to fall on their Brethren who stood upon the same bottom

tom with themselves; or they had receiv'd it amongst their Injunctions from the Court-Party, not to meddle with these of the Roman Church; or they did not understand the Controversies, (which seems the most probable,) and so found themselves obliged in Prudence to let them alone, I am not concerned to determine: 'Tis certain it was so *de facto*, (for once to make use here of that Term,) and I have twenty times heard it confess'd by their constant Auditors: Nay, to this very Day (though now they may make bold with Popery, without the hazard of giving the present Court a Displeasure; and it might be expected they should do it, for very obvious Reasons,) they very rarely meddle with it. Their great Work is, to batter down Antichristian Prelacy and Malignancy: Prelacy has been the Cause of all the Calamities this Nation has groaned under, God knows for how many Years: King *Jesus* has been banished, the Gospel has not been preached in this Land these Seven and twenty Years by past.

Upon my Word, I am sure, Sir, there is nothing more ordinary in their Sermons than such Cant; and though their Texts be commonly taken from the Old Testament, yet they are all pat and home to the purpose. I could easily give you a great many good Notes of their Prayers, as well as their Sermons, and condescend upon the particular Persons, &c. but perhaps you may see that sometimes done by it self.

While in these Conventicles Popery was so kindly forborn, in our Churches these Controversies were our most frequent Subjects; especially in these places where Priests were setting up. This is well known all over the Kingdom; some suffered, and many were terribly threatened for it. I could give you part of their Names and Histories, if it were needful.

Such was the broken State of our Church, from *July, 1687.* till *October, 1688.* when the late great Revolution began to cast up, and His Highness the Prince of *Orange* was said to be coming to *Britain*, to deliver us from Popery and Slavery, and restore our Religion, Laws and Liberties. You know that was an extraordinary Enterprize; *Britain* had not been invaded by any Foreign Prince for an hundred Years before; therefore it was expedient His Highness should forecast for as kindly a Reception as was possible: To this End he gave out his Declarations for both Kingdoms. It seems that either His Highness has been diffident of the Regular Clergy in *Scotland*, and dreaded they would not so readily embark with him, as the Presbyterians were likely to do; or he has had none, or very few

of the *Scotch* Nation then about him, but such as were of that Persuasion; for the Declaration for the Kingdom of *Scotland* we found to be purely Presbyterian: I am confident Dr. *Burnet* did not pen it, otherwise the Act of *Glasgow* had not been put into it as a Grievance: He knows very well upon what Reasons it was made, and, if he pleases, can easily justify it; neither had the Clergy of the West (for they must be the Men) been so generally pronounced scandalous and ignorant; he was better acquainted with many of them than so: I had rather think, the Doctor had never seen that Declaration until it was published. But what though he had, and, for Reasons of State, thought fit to let it go as it was? 'Tis no great matter. As I said, it was down-right Presbyterian, and prelag'd no Good to us: But, God be thanked, it found us generally in good preparation for suffering Persecution; for we had cast up our Accounts before, and foreseen that possibly we might be exposed to Trials, though we had not much reflected that it was to be by the Hands of Protestants.

We were confirmed further yet in our Suspicions, when we found that those who were engaged in the Presbyterian Interests, were flocking up to *London*, and making the most numerous, as well as active Appearances about His Highness's Court; that they only had his Ear, and seemed to be the chief Persons, who (upon His Majesty's Retirement) transferred the Government of this Kingdom upon him.

By these Steps we began to see further too into the Politicks of our Brethren, and upon what Designs they had carried on the Schism so vigorously the Year before; yet we never dreaded that such horrid Barbarities would be our Lot, as afterwards were put in Execution.

And so I am introduced to the main part of my Work; which is, to give you a brief Account, a Taste, as it were, of our present Sufferings; which, were they represented fully, and in all their proper Colours, perhaps they would not obtain Belief among Strangers: Nor will I make it my Work at present to do it; both for that I intend Bre- vity, and am unwilling to give to the World such a Disgust at my native Country, as the Barbarities we met with, fully laid open, must needs produce in all those who have any Sense, either of Christianity, or Humanity. In short then,

It pleased Almighty God (to whose Providence it becomes us humbly to submit in all Conditions) to permit that we should have a Trial of the Cross, whereof God forbid we should ever be ashamed; and for that End, to give us up to the Malice of our Enemies, that they might thrust us into the Furnace; for carrying on which glorious Work,
this

this was their Opportunity. When the certain Accounts came of the Prince of *Orange's* Resolutions to come into *England*, all our standing Forces were called thither; so that this Kingdom was left destitute of such Means as were necessary to secure the Peace, if any Disturbance should happen to arise amongst us. When that Prince landed, King *James* (being deserted by his Army, and soon after disowned by his Subjects) was put upon the Necessity of leaving *Britain*; and here in *Scotland*, his Council very soon dissolved of its own accord, so that, in effect, the Nation was, in a manner, without Government; by whose Fault, I am not now to enquire.

Upon this His Majesty's sudden Abdication, and voluntary Dissolution of his Council, our Brethren found it seasonable for them to turn serious with us: But it was expedient to project how their Game might be successful, before they began to play it; therefore a Stratagem was contrived, a general Massacre of Protestants was pretended, and alledged to be intended by the Papists: But how to be effectual, seeing their Numbers were so very few, especially on the South side of the *Forth*, which was to be the chief Scene of the Tragedy? For that, this *Salvo* was at hand: So many Thousands of *Irish-Men* were landed in *Galloway*, had already burnt the Towns of *Kirkcudbright* all to Ashes, and put all to the Edge of the Sword, Young and Old, Male and Female, only three or four Persons (like *Job's* Nuncios) had escaped; and these Savages were potting hard, to be over the whole Kingdom, &c.

This Story flew at the rate of a Miracle, for within Twenty four Hours, or so, it was spread every where, through the greater half of the Kingdom. No Body doubts now, but People were appointed at several Posts, to transmit it every where at that same time, for it run like Lightning; and where-ever it went, it was so confidently asserted to be true, that he was forthwith a Papist, and upon the Plot, who disbelieved it. At first we all wondered what it might mean, but it was not long before we learn'd, by the Effects, what was the Politick; for immediately, in the Western Shires, (where the Fiction was first propagated,) tumultuary Rabbles knotted, and went about, searching for Arms every Body's House whom they suspected as disaffected to their Interests. The pretext was, that the Country might be in a Posture of Defence against the *Irish*, but the real purpose was, that all might be made naked, who were inclinable to retard them in the Prosecution of their Designs upon the Clergy: Especially, they were sure, no Minister should have Sword or Pistol, (as, indeed, few had any,) or any other Weapon that might be useful for his Defence, if any Attempt

Should be made on him: When they had thus made their Preparations for the Work, (and you would wonder to hear how speedily, and yet how dexterously it was done,) they fell frankly to it.

It was on Christmas-day, (that Day which once brought good Tidings of great Joy to all People,) that Day which once was celebrated by the Court of Heaven it self, and whereon they sung, *Glory to God in the Highest, on Earth Peace, Good Will towards Men*; that Day which the whole Christian Church, ever since, has solemnized, for the greatest Mercy that ever was shewn to sinful Mortals; that Day, I say, it was, (to the eternal Honour of all, especially *Scotch*, Presbyterians,) on which they began the Tragedy; for so were Matters concerted amongst them, that upon that same very Day, different Parties started out of different places, and fell upon the Ministers.

Particularly, About Five or Six of the Clock at Night, Mr. *Gabriel Russell*, Minister at *Gevean*, was assaulted by a number of Fellows (most of them, as I am told, his own Parishioners, to whom he had sometimes done considerable Kindnesses) in his own House: They beat his Wife, his Daughter, and himself too, so inhumanely, that it had almost endangered his Life; carried off the Poor's Box, and other Utensils of the Church; and threatned peremptorily, if he should ever offer, after that, to preach there, he might assure himself of more severe Treatment.

That same Night, about Eleven of the Clock, another Party came to the Dwelling House of Mr. *Finnie*, Minister at *Cathcart*; he was from home himself. The Season was not only then naturally cold; but a most vehement Frost prevailed; yet (behold their Humanity!) they thrust his Wife, with four or five small Children, out of Doors about Midnight, threw out all his Furniture, and (till after more than half an Hour's Intreaty) would not suffer the poor Gentlewoman, with her tender Babes, to have Lodging that Night, so much as in the Stable; nor a Fire of her own Walls, to keep the young ones from the Severities of the Weather. The weak, tender Children (and no wonder, when exposed to such a Rigour) almost all sickned thereafter; but whether any of them died, I know not.

That same Night Mr. *Buyd*, Minister at *Carmunnock*, his Family was as rudely treated; and in many other places, it was solemnized after the same manner. But I am not, at this time, to give you a particular Inventory of all the incredible Barbarities which were, either on that, or many subsequent Days, committed; that would make this Letter hugely swell beyond its primary Design: For what Work would it require, to present particularly

How

How they took Mr. *Robert Bell*, Minister at *Kilmarnock*, from his Chamber, on a very frosty Day; kept him four or five Hours bare-headed, exposed to the Cold; caused his own Sexton to tear his Gown in pieces from his Shoulders; took the English Liturgy from his Pocket, and burnt it with much Ceremony in the Market-place; calling him Papist, and it the Mass-book in English, &c.

How they came upon Mr. *Simpson*, Minister at *Gastown*; took him out bare-headed also, caused the Sexton carry his Morning-Gown to the most publick place of the Village, (for he had put his Canonical Gowns and Cassicks out of the way, and it was necessary a Gown should be torn; that was an essential Formality,) where they caused him to put it on, and then rent it in pieces. How thereafter they carried him to a River, forced him to wade through it at one of the deepest places; then turn'd his Face Northward, saying to him, *Get you gone to your own Country, and see, for your Life, you never look Southward or Westward again.*

How they carried Mr. *Mills*, Minister at *Gawdir*, his Gown, being from home himself, in Procession to the Church-yard, made a long Harangue, concerning their Zeal for God's Glory, and the *Good Old Cause*; after that, a long Prayer, then rent the Gown; and concluded the Solemnity with a Volley of Shot, &c. Could there be greater Dishonour done to *Jesus Christ*, and his holy Religion?

How they smote Mr. *White*, Minister at *Balingtre*, on the Face, with the butt end of a Musquet, for speaking to them with his Cap on, as they worded it, though it was in his own House; and the Fellow that said and did so, was a mean Pedler. How they thrust at his Heart with a naked Sword, so that both his Cloaths and Skin were pierced; though, such was the good Providence of God, what through the Throng that was in the Room, and what through the distance the Miscreant stood at, who made the Thrust, the Wound was not dangerous. And how they beat his Wife most rudely, though at that time she was so big with Child, that she had pass'd her Reckoning.

How, in a mighty Storm of Frost and Snow, they took Mr. *Brown*, Minister at *Kells* in *Galloway*, then residing at *Newtown*; carried him to the Mercat place about Four of the Clock in the Morning, tied him to a Cart, set his Face to the Weather, &c. In which posture he had certainly died, if a poor Woman, whose Heart, it seems, was made of softer Metal, had not cast some Cloaths about him.

How they came on Mr. *Francis Ross*, Minister at *Renfrew*, and threw out his Wife the third Day after she was brought to Bed, together with her tender Infant.

How they treated Mr. *Guthrie*, Minister at *Keir*, in a stormy, rainy Day, turning all his Family and Furniture out at doors, although three of his Children were dangerously sick; one of a Fever, the other two of the Small Pox; and how two of them died upon that Treatment.

How, by their Rudenesses to Mr. *Skinner*, Minister at *Daly*, they first frightened his Daughter, a young Gentlewoman, aged about Twenty, into a Fever; and then returning, after five or six Days, while she was in the rage of it, how they turn'd her out of her Bed, pretending to search for Arms, though it was very well known the whole Country over, the good Man's Genius never lay that way; and so disturbed her, that she died raving; amongst her last Words, repeating these over and over, *Oh! These wicked Men will murder my Father.*

How they contrived and carried on the Tumults at *Edinburgh* and *Glasgow*: What Letters were sent to some; what Citations in the Name of the Rabble to others, commanding them to remove from their Churches and Manfes, under the highest Penalties. What Work would it require, I say, to digest all these, and the like Instances, fully and particularly? Perhaps the World may sometime see it done; but it is enough for my purpose, at present, to tell you, that these were their common Methods; and by such means, in a very short time, more than two hundred were thrust from their Churches and Dwellings. Do not think I am imposing on you: What I have affirmed, can be so attested, that greater Moral Evidence can be had for nothing.

When ye have read thus far, and when your Surprise and first Horrors are over, and, as your Temper is, you fall a pondering what I have told you; I am apt to apprehend, a great many Things may offer themselves to your Consideration: Such is your Humanity, that I know you will be casting about for Topics and Apologies, to alleviate this heavy Charge I am giving in against our Persecutors. What! (so may you think,) Certainly no Applications have been made to those in Power: For what Person in the World, bearing the Name of a Magistrate, would not have found himself obliged, in Credit and Honour, as well as Duty, to fall on speedy Remedies for stopping such an impetuous Current of bare-faced Wickedness? Or, at most, they have been but pure Rabble, the Scum and Refuse of the People, who acted these Barbarities; and they have been so numerous, so fierce and uncontrollable at that time, that Authority has been too weak for them: For it is not possible that any of the Nobility and Gentry, and much less that any of the Presbyterian Preachers, could allow of, or have an hand in such Villanies. Or, if these in Power were acquainted with such Things, and yet gave no Protection; and if the Rabble had Encouragement from

from any Persons of better Quality, you can hardly miss to conclude, that these Clergy men who were so treated, have been the most profligate Rogues in the World; Wretches who deserved to be swept from off the Face of the Earth, without Pity, and with all the Solemnities of Disgrace and Contempt: For what else can be imagined to justify such Proceedings? Thus (I say) perhaps, Sir, you may reason with your self, when you are making your Reflections on what I have already told you: Be pleased therefore to have a little Patience, and consider what I am to tell you further.

No sooner did these Outrages begin, than such Applications were made, as you your self (I am sure) will judge sufficient. Such of the Peers of the Kingdom as were Privy Countessors, and had not gone for *London*, were addressed, but they could bring us no Relief: Our next Work therefore was, to send up private Accounts to *London*, as we had Interest or Acquaintance with those of our Nobility and Gentry who were there. But our Enemies had well fore-seen all that, and had their Instruments ready to run down all private Letters; as the blackest Lies and Forgeries; and we were called all the infamous Things that could be. Our Design was to work Mischief, and breed Disturbances. We were popishly affected, and the Politick of such Reports was, to hinder the Settlement of the Peace, and Establishment of the Government. In a Word, We were mortal Enemies to the Prince of *Orange*, and all his glorious Designs for securing the Protestant Religion, &c. They received Letters to the quite contrary: Sure they were, their Correspondents were Men well acquainted with whatever passed; and besides, they were Men of Conscience, and undoubted Integrity; they would not conceal the Truth, far less would they write Lies and Falshoods; yet their Accounts bore daily, that there were no such Persecutions of Ministers, no Tumults, no Rabbles; &c. the Kingdom was in a most profound Peace, and every Man had all imaginable security, especially the Clergy. With such bold Affirmations as these, they perswaded His Highness, on whom was transferred the Government of this Kingdom, that all our Accounts were most false and villanous, and he ought not to believe them; only by them he might judge what a Pack we were, &c.

This we were advertised of by some of our Friends. Wherefore, to give His Highness convincing Evidence, if it was possible, the Brethren of the seven Presbyteries (that you may not be scandalized at the Word, be pleased to know, that, according to the Constitution of our Church, the Presbyters of the same Diocess are commonly combined into several Consistories, or Fraternities: These Consistories meet usually once in
three

three or four Weeks, for Discipline; lesser Matters they dispatch, and the greater they prepare for their Bishop: And these Consistories, or Fraternities, with us are commonly called Presbyteries) of *Glasgow, Hamilton, Lanerk, Air, Irwiny, Paisley* and *Dumbartoun*, on whom the Persecution came first, and lay most heavily, communicated Counsels, and concluded to send up one of their Number, well instructed, to acquaint His Highness with their Circumstances. Accordingly Dr. *Scott*, Dean of *Glasgow*, was sent to *London*: He had with him an humble Petition for Protection, to be presented to His Highness, and a Commission to himself to present it; each of them subscribed by twelve or fourteen Hands. Besides these two Papers, that the Evidence might be yet more unquestionable, he had likewise particular Accounts of the Injuries and Violences done to the Brethren of these several Presbyteries, from their respective Deputies, who met with Power to send him; subscribed with their Hands; and wherein they undertook to make good what they represented, upon their highest Perils. What more could be required, to make Faith; to make the Truth of our Complaints appear, beyond all Exception? Yet, when the Doctor came to *London* with these Instructions, the good Party continued to have the Forehead to contradict all, and run him down with Noise and Clamour. However, His Highness was convinced then of the Western Barbarities, and seemed willing to contribute for the Protection of the Clergy: So a Declaration was ordered for the Preservation of the Peace of this Kingdom, dated *Feb. 6. 1683*; and though Dr. *Scott* was earnest to have had some Clauses put in it, which had been very proper and useful, but could not obtain their Insertion, it cannot be denied but it seemed favourable to the Regular Clergy. But would you know what Success it had? You may learn that from the Tumult which happen'd at *Glasgow* after its Publication.

Upon the Protection promised, and the Keeping of the Peace commanded by that Declaration, at the desire of many People of the best Quality within the City, upon the 17th of *February*, the Parson of *Glasgow* ventured to the Pulpit, but was forced to escape for his Life before Sermon was ended; for instantly, upon Notice given that Sermon was in the Cathedral, (by the Instigation of their Preachers, as I am told,) all the Meeting-Houses emptied, and forthwith went to Arms. came to the Church, discharged several Guns through the Windows, then made open the Doors by force, &c. In summ, Many were wounded, several Gentlewomen were stripp'd almost naked, and most rudely treated; but you must expect the full Account of this from some other Hand,

So likewise Mr. *James Little*, Minister at *Trailflat*, upon the Authority of the same Declaration, resolved to have re-possessed himself of his Pulpit; but was exercised to purpose by a Rabble of Females, who tore not only his Coat, but his very Shirt from him; and (such was their Modesty) had well nigh done the like with his Breeches, had he not cried to them over and over, that it would be Shame for them to look on a naked Man, &c.

So little was His Highness's Declaration noticed: And when it was objected to those Heroes and Heroins of the Reformation, their Answer was ready; "That Declaration was but a Sham paper, they knew His Highness's Mind and Resolutions better than so; they would go on in their Work, and take their Hazard.

Then began we to see further into the Presbyterian Intrigues than we had done before; for it required no great Skill, either in Logick, or Politicks, to conclude, that they had got their Instructions from their Agents at *London*, to continue in their laudable Zeal, notwithstanding that Declaration: But of this more afterwards. In the mean time, an Account of that Tumult at *Glasgow* was forthwith sent to His Highness, by an Express; but no notice was taken of it further, than to refer it to the Meeting of Estates, which was to sit on the 14th of *March*: But before I come to that,

Give me leave once more to return to that Declaration, and take notice of one thing, because the Interests of the Clergy were concerned: It is, its commanding all then in Arms (except the Garisons of the Fortresses, and the Company of Foot entertained by the Town of *Edinburgh*) within the Kingdom, instantly to disband; and its discharging all Persons in Time coming to take Arms, or to continue in Arms, upon any pretence whatsoever, &c.

There was an Intrigue in this, which perhaps ye have not remarked: When the Work had gone on so successfully in the West, especially in *Glasgow*, by the first Tumult, which was there on the 17th of *January*, the Presbyterian Party in *Edinburgh* (animated thereto by their Brethren's Success and Sollicitations, for constant Correspondence was kept amongst them) were upon the Resolution of falling upon the Clergy of that City likewise; and that it might be done to purpose, the Western Zealots were coming to the Town in Troops daily. This the Magistrates had notice of; wherefore, considering what Tumults had been raised in the City before, how unfixed the Mobile was, and how much led by Wild-fire and Humour; and so, being diffident of the Fidelity and Forwardness of their ordinary
D Guards,

Guards, they invited the College of Justice to take Arms, and assist them, in defending the Ministers, and securing the Peace of the City. That College (consisting entirely of Gentlemen, and Persons of liberal and generous Education) readily complied with the Invitation, form'd themselves into a Regiment, and kept Guard for several Days, according to the Military Discipline.

One would think, there was nothing here amiss: On the contrary, It was certainly a most generous Action, an Undertaking becoming good Patriots, (thus to appear against Tumults and Rabbles, the greatest Plagues of Society, and Enemies to the Peace of Mankind,) and deserves to be transmitted to Posterity, with the highest Encomiums: Yet, as generous as it was, and as much of Equity as it had on its side, it galled the Presbyterians exceedingly; for thereby their Designs were disappointed, they durst not fall upon the Regular Clergy, knowing what good Affection these Gentlemen had for them; and that, if any Tumult should arise, they would undoubtedly behave themselves according to their Character. Wherefore they presently sent up hideous Accounts to *London*, to their Correspondents, of that Matter; who (having then most of the Prince's Ear) easily gave him a wrong Notion of it, and thereby got that Clause put into the Declaration.

Nay, Sir, such a deep Grudge did that Behaviour of these Gentlemen beget in the Hearts of the Party, that (notwithstanding they disbanded immediately upon the Publication of that Declaration) there were Designs on foot since, to have called them to a strict Account for it: But why do I say, it was design'd? The Council, I think, in *June*, or *July* last, actually appointed a Committee to try them; and several Advocates were cited to appear before them, and examined concerning the Matter: But it seems (whether it were for Shame, or some other Cause, I know not) they thought fit to let it fall, for they have not yet proceeded further. Yet, on the other hand, the Western Rabbles were never called in Question: On the contrary, they were still encouraged; as you shall hear incontinent. And so I return to

The Meeting of Estates: You know, they met on the 14th of *March*, and (as I said) to them the Troubles of the Clergy were referred. Perhaps, for your making a distinct Judgment of our Affairs, it might be requisite that you should have a full and just Account, how that Meeting was called, how many of the Nobility were absent from it, what Scruples the best, and most judicious of the Gentry of the Nation had about it; how thin the Meetings of the smaller Barons were in many Shires, when the Commissioners were chosen; how industrious

industrious the Presbyterian Party was, to have all Members elected of their own Gang; what Methods were taken with the simpler Members, to impose upon them; what Partiality was used in the matter of controverted Elections; what Violences were threatned to some, particularly, several Noblemen, &c. and what Snarcs were laid for them. These, I say, and twenty other things, might perhaps be necessary to be punctually and particularly related to you, before you can have an exact Understanding how things went amongst us: But I have resolved all alongst, to keep close to the Treatment of the Clergy, and never to meddle with the State, but so far as they are concerned; and therefore, if you are curious to know these things, you must either make your Application to some other Person, or, at least, wait till another Occasion.

The first thing done by the Meeting, which could comprehend the Clergy, was an Act that passed on the 16th Day of *March*, whereby they voted themselves a full and lawful Meeting of the Estates; and that, notwithstanding of any thing that might be contained in King *James's* Letter, which that Day was presented to them, they would continue undissolved, until they should settle and secure the Protestant Religion, the Government, Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom. This Act, when it passed, gave those of the ejected Ministers, who were then at *Edinburgh*, occasion to refresh themselves with the Hopes, that presently their Case would be considered; for they were as good Protestants as their Neighbours, and they had Rights and Liberties asserted by Law, and which (by consequence) ought to have been settled and secured, as much as the Rights and Liberties of any other Subjects. But, alas! these Hopes lasted not long; for not only was their Case never so much as mentioned in the Meeting, for a good time; but with no good Aspect to them, upon the 28th of *March*, when several of the Bishops, many of the Nobility, and not a few of the Barons and Burgesses had deserted the House, the Thanks of the Meeting were given to that very same Rabble which had turned out the Ministers. 'Tis true, indeed, the Complement was not made them under that Reduplication, but, I say, they were generally the same Persons; and that Appearance they made, and for which they were thanked, was as illegal, though not so barbarous as the other. But though that was disheartning enough, it was not the worst of it; that wounded the poor Sufferers but indirectly, but the next Step was downright for their Ruin.

It was that famous Proclamation, dated the 13th of *April*, and entitled, *A Proclamation against the Owning the late King James, and Commanding publick Prayers to be made for King William and Queen Mary*; famous (amongst many other Reasons) for Keeping, and Turning, out of their Churches and Livings, the better, as well as the greater half of the Clergy within the Kingdom: And therefore let me give you the History of it a little more fully.

On the 4th of *April*, the Meeting of Estates, by their Vote, declared, That King *James* had forfeited the Right to the Crown, and the Throne vacant. On the 11th, a Proclamation was published, declaring *William and Mary*, King and Queen of *England*, to be King and Queen of *Scotland*. But all this time, notwithstanding the Meeting had sitten very near to a Month, the Rabble were as busie as ever; and that same Week had fallen on Mr. *Stewart*, Minister at *Ratho*. He represented it, and gave in his Petition for Protection, on the 13th Day, being *Saturday*. This gave them occasion to talk of the Clergy indefinitely, and of the Troubles many of them had met with. But what should be done in relation to them? It was moved, and the Motion was entertained, that a Proclamation should be ordered, requiring them to disown King *James*, &c. and promising Protection to all that should give dutiful Obedience. But then another Proposal was made by His Grace the Duke of *Hamilton*, President of the Meeting, viz. "That those who had been thrust from their Stations might be likewise comprehended, commanded home to their respective Churches, and promised Protection upon their Compliance. This was vigorously opposed by several of the Members; particularly, Sir *James Montgomery*, of *Skelmorly*, said, "That was downright to take the whole West on their Top, it would disoblige all the Presbyterians, and might have very fatal Consequences; therefore the Meeting must not look so far back, it would be enough if Protection were promised to those who were in the actual Possession and Exercise of their Ministry. Which Reasoning prevailed; so it came to a Vote, and carried, that the Proclamation should run so, as it was afterwards published:

However plain the Case may appear to be between King *James* and our present King *William* and Queen *Mary*, which was the main Subject of the said Proclamation; yet at this time I shall only tell you what Effects it produced upon the Clergy. It distributed them (as is evident to any who reads it) into two Classes: Those who, on that 13th of *April*, were (as it words it) *presently* in the Possession and Exercise of their Ministry; and these who, before that Day,

day, had been expell'd by the Rabble : To the former it grants a Conditional, to the latter no Protection at all, but entirely excludes them from their Churches and Livings, and the benefit of the Government.

I'll dipatch what I have to say concerning these of the latter Class first, because their Case is so very singular, and will make the distinctest Figure, when all is subjected to one view, contracted into one Body. I have already given you a Taste of the Violences done them. I have likewise taken notice, that you may be apt to impute all that was done, merely to the Mobile, and believe, none of the Heads of the Presbyterian Party were any ways accessory to such Barbarities. I have also insinuated such Arguments already, as may convince you that you are in a Mistake, if you think so: Particularly, the pains were taken to run down all Accounts that were sent to *London*; (to what purpose, if these Agents were not on the Plot?) The no notice taken of the Prince's Declaration for keeping the Peace; but the Rabble's turning more Insolent after its Publication; (unaccountably sure; if they had not their secret Instructions from their Correspondents at Court, to go on vigorously, notwithstanding that Declaration) and the business of the College of Justice. These seem to me to be unquestionable Proofs, that they were the Heads, the Politicians of the Party, who plotted and encouraged all the Tumults, and the Persecutions of the Clergy: They were the Projctors, and at the bottom of all, and the Mobile was nothing but the base Instrument.

If it were needful, I could give you plenty of further Arguments; to make it more clear and evident: For (to omit what I have often heard from Persons of no contemptible Worth nor Intelligence, viz. That there were Letters sent from *London*, which gave life to the *Irish Plot* mentioned before, and first set the Rabble in motion: And that the Lord *Stair*, now President of the Session, was one Author, (as perhaps can be made appear), I could tell you, that I have been assured by People of undoubted Credit, that they have heard some who were then very active in rabbling the Clergy, confess since, that the Course was Unchristian and Horrid; that they had never attempted it, if they had not been put upon it by Persons of Influence; that they were made to believe there was no other way to introduce the Presbyterian Government; that they now heartily repented they had been so forward, and if it were to do again, it should never be done. I could tell you further, that even after the Thirteenth of *April*, the Earl of *Crawford* wrote Letters to the Leaders of Rabbles, encouraging them

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to persist in their laudable Atchievements; and this so very certain, that the Duke of *Hamilton* produced one of them in *June* or *July* last, before the Council, and put the Earl to it, and he could not deny it; and that it made a great Noise, not only at that Table, but through the whole City. And *Monroe* of *Towlu*, one of the Members of Parliament, seeing one day a Minister in his Gown in the Parliament-Court, pointed at him, crying, *Behold Antiehrift! Will no body tear the Gown from him?* The Minister (a pretty bold Fellow) reply'd, *But, Sir, you are the Beast!* Which made the Spectators laugh; and so he escaped: For you your self would have sworn he spoke truth, had you ever seen the Man. Further yet; to this very day, not one Presbyterian Preacher, has ever been heard condemn these Methods from his Pulpit. On the contrary, I could name more than two or three, who actually approved them, commended the Zeal that put People upon them; encouraged them to proceed; and in the New Church at *Edinburgh* (*De Jure*, the Bishop's Cathedral, *De Facto*, now a Presbyterian Meeting-House) it self, where now the great Concourse is of all the Nobility and Gentry, who follow the new Guises, it was told them in a Sermon, *That such shakings as these (it is the very words) were the shakings of God, and without such shakings, his Church was not in use to be settled.* Once more yet, notwithstanding Rabbling has been all along in fashion, and continues to this moment; and many Complaints have been made; yet never hitherto so much as one Proclamation taking notice of it in form, that is, bearing a Narrative to this purpose, *Whereas such Violences have been done, &c.* never yet, I say, so much as one Proclamation of that Nature, never so much as one Person punished for such Violences. On the contrary, the two or three West-Country Regiments, who pass under the name of *Cameronians*, seem to have been sent of purpose to Quarter in the Shires of *Perth* and *Angus* (where the People have still been peaceable and affectionate to their Ministers) that they might persecute the Clergy; for wherever they go they do it, and they are never discharged, nor taken any notice of. You would wonder to hear what a wild Pack these are; I dare not (dreading Prolixity) enter upon a full particular Description of them: But I cannot forbear to tell you one Fancy which made me laugh, lately when I was told it: It was, That they will not obey their very Officers, but when they please, especially in point of Exercise, when they are bid do this or that, two days together, they will not do it for any Authority or Persuasion; and when they are challenged for it, they tell, *They are not for set Forms.* This by the way. By these things, methinks, you may

may see pretty clearly now (though nothing more could be adduced) who acted the Rabbles: But, in truth, I needed not have been at the pains of Collecting these Arguments; for,

By that Proclamation of the Thirteenth of April (to which I now return) all the antecedent Deeds of the Rabble are clearly justified, and fair permission, or rather fresh encouragement is given them to persevere in their Course. The Clause is as plain as it is wonderful; these are the very words; *And the Estates do prohibit and discharge any Injury to be offered by any Person whatsoever, to any Ministers of the Gospel, either in Churches or Meeting-Houses* (though these Meeting-Houses, and the Conventicles kept in them, were most directly contrary to Law; and the States by their fore-mentioned AQ, dated March 16. had declared they would sit till they should secure the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom) *who are presently* (N.B.) *in the Possession and Exercise of their Ministry therein*: Whereby all forced from their Churches before that day, were entirely excluded the Protection of the Government.

If you doubt that that was the sense and purpose of the Clause, I have to produce another Proclamation, which will make an excellent Commentary; it is that which is dated August 6. 1689. and entitled, *A Proclamation anent the Ministers*, whereof the Narrative runs thus, *Whereas the Estates of the Kingdom did prohibit and discharge any Injury to be offered by any Person whatsoever to any Minister of the Gospel, either in Churches or Meeting-Houses, who were then, viz. on the Thirteenth of April last in Possession and Exercise of their Ministry.* And thus in the Mandatory Part, *Therefore the Lords of Their Majesties Privy-Council, in Their Majesties Name and Authority, do strictly Command and Charge, that none of the Leidges take on hand to do any Violence or Injury to any of the Ministers of the Gospel, whether they be Preaching in Churches or Meeting-Houses; and that all such as were in Possession and Exercise of their Ministry, since the Thirteenth of April last, be allowed to continue undisturbed, and that such Ministers as have been removed, dispossessed, or restrained, without a legal Sentence in the exercise of their Ministry, since the Thirteenth day of April last, shall be allowed to return, &c.* Are you satisfied now? But I have yet more to give you.

It is a Passage in that Address, said to be signed by the greatest part of the Members of the Parliament of Scotland, and deliver'd to His Majesty at Hampton-Court, the Fifteenth day of October, 1689. The words are, *It is not unknown to Your Majesty what have been the sad Confusions and Disorders of this distressed Country under Prelacy, and for want of its ancient Presbyterian Government* (What scope for Commenting here! if it were
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my present business?) And now the whole West, and many other parts of Scotland, are at present desolate and destitute, having only Ministers (it seems you own these Ministers to be no Ministers; otherwise, having them, how can the West, and these other Parts, be said to be desolate and destitute?) called upon the late (K. James's) Liberty, without any Benefice or Living, or convenient place to Preach in. There are a thousand things here quereable, if a body had inclination to be nice; for Example, who knows not that these Ministers were so wise as to make secure Bargains with the People who called them, before they would set up their Meeting-Houses amongst them? Who knows not that these Eight or Nine Months by-past, they have possess'd themselves of all the Churches of the West, and lately of many elsewhere too? How then can they be said to want convenient places to Preach in? And for what reason can the late Liberty be mentioned? Was it a sufficient or a legal Warrant for the People to call these Ministers, and these Ministers to embrace such Calls? Or was it not? If it was, there was Law for the Dispensing Power, by Consequence King James is injuriously treated: If it was not, how comes that People and these Ministers now to be so kindly dealt by; Did they not comply with the Dispensing Power? Did they not what they could, by their Compliance, to assert it, and give it Countenance? For my part, I think, Reason would say, they deserved as well as any to be comprehended in the Third Vote, which that Address mentions: But you may interpret this a Digression; be it so: This I'm sure is home; you see the Addressers tell their King, that now the whole West is desolate and destitute. What if he had answered, *How comes it to be so?* Were there not Ministers establish'd by there Law? What is become of them? What (can you imagine) could they return to that, besides one of these two, viz. Either again to Address His Majesty for restoring and repossessing those who had been thrust out? (an Overture, which I readily believe, got never footing amongst their Inclinations) Or to own that they justified what was done to these Ministers? And indeed the Air of their Language, in that passage, imports not only that, but likewise, that they take it for granted, that their King will readily justify all too; though I am confident he neither can nor will.

Would you have more yet? As on Christmas Day, Anno 1688. the Rabble first fell upon the Clergy of the West, as I have said; so on Christmas-Eve, Anno 1689. the Council did interpose their Authority, and have discharged all the inferior Judges within the Kingdom to pass Decrees in favours of any Ministers who were not in Possession and Exercise of their Ministry on the Thirteenth day of April, Anno 1689.

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for the said Years Revenue, adducing for their Reason, that often-mentioned Act and Proclamation, inferring thence, that no Judicature can determine in the Case, except a Parliament.

Thus, Sir, you may briefly understand the State of those Ministers who were thrust from their Churches by lawless Force and Violence: Poor People! It would extort Compassion from any Breast not altogether Stone, to see what sad Circumstances many of them have been in this good time by-gone, having had little or nothing to maintain themselves with, and (in many Instances) their numerous Families, but the Charity and Benevolence of some good Christians: For generally our Scottish Benefices are but small; and the most part of the Western Clergy had got little (till very lately) of their Stipends for the Year 1687. and nothing of the Year 1688. And by what I have said last, you may guess what they may expect of the Year 1689. Can any History shew a Precedent for their Case? Were ever Christian Ministers so treated in a Christian Kingdom? Will this pass with after Ages for good Service done to the Protestant Interest? — But 'tis now time

To pass over to the other Class, consisting of those who escaped the Hands of the Rabble; till that Mysterious Thirteenth Day of April was over: They had indeed a certain sort of Protection promised them by the Proclamation; but perhaps such an one as you shall hardly find its like under any Government: Though I have set down the Clause in part already, yet I will repeat it over again fully, that you may the better understand it; *And the Estates do prohibit and discharge any Injury to be offered by any Person whatsoever, to any Minister of the Gospel, either in Churches or Meeting-Houses, who are presently in Possession and Exercise of their Ministry therein, they behaving (N. B.) themselves as becomes, under the present Government: That is, if they shall read the Proclamation, and pray for King William and Queen Mary, as King and Queen of Scotland; let no Violence be done them: but if they shall not (be it upon whatsoever Reasons and Necessities) to your Task Rabble; you shall not be question'd for it: Is it not an excellent Government (think ye) where Rabbles are constituted Judges, and Executors of Laws? Was not that brave Protection, at a Juncture, when the great Statesmen and Casuists of both Nations were making Protection and Allegiance reciprocal? Yet verily, Sir, considering the posture of Affairs then, no Man (without doing Violence to his own Sense) could put a better Gloss upon it. Nay, what I have said is the least that can be collected; for in many Mens Opinion, these words [*They behaving themselves as becomes, under the present Government*] were designed to comprehend*

prehend more than Reading and Praying, and were put in of purpose to expose those to the Mercy of the Rabble, who (though they should obey that Proclamation) should at any time thereafter, refuse Obedience to any thing. That a Presbyterian Meeting, Council or Parliament, should enact or determin; certainly the words will go so far easily, and without stretching: 'Tis as certain the Rabble herefrom took new Encouragement, and kept up the Persecution as hot as ever; and for my part, I can see no other thing like Law for turning out some Ministers afterwards, who had both *Read* and *Prayed*, for not observing the *late Fast*: But of that more anon. Such was the Nature of the Protection granted by that Proclamation: I proceed next to as wonderful Effects.

It required the Ministers within the City of *Edinburgh*, under the pain of being deprived, and losing their Benefices, to *read it publickly from their Pulpits*, upon *Sunday* next, being the Fourteenth, at the end of their Fore-noons Sermon; and the Ministers on this side of the River of *Tay*, upon the twenty first, and those be-North the said River, on the twenty eighth under the Pains aforesaid.

You see what Expedition it required of the Ministers of *Edinburgh*: It was voted and enacted in the meeting on *Saturday* about Twelve of the Clock, it was late before it came from the Press, it came not to their hands till it was much later: Some of them were in Bed before they heard of it: some received it not till the next Morning; some (as I am told) never saw it till they were in the Pulpit. To be sure, none of them had time to consider it thoroughly, examine the great Matters contained in it, or deliberately satisfy their Consciences about it. The seven *English* Bishops, the Year before, by their Example, had taught the World that Ministers were not to Read Proclamations *sive implicita*, and in a blind Obedience. The present *English* Parliament, had given several Months to the Clergy of that Kingdom to deliberate in, before Sentence was to be past against them, for not complying with the present Revolution. If I am not mistaken, no Church-man in *England* is deprived to this day, but you know that better than I. Sure I am, this our Proclamation contain'd things of as great Consequence as that which these Seven Bishops found so choaking, that they rather choosed to run the greatest hazards, than enjoin their Clergy the Reading of it; or as that Law either, upon the account of which so many of the *English* Clergy are now under Suspension: yet the Clergy of *Edinburgh* must Read and Pray the very next day, and upon so short Advertisement, or be instantly deprived: nor can the Inclinations of the People be pretend-
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ed for so quick dispatch; for I am told, (and I know it to be certain) that when the Gentleman who Preached in the new Church, had refused to Read it, and the Clerk (after the Blessing pronounced) fell a Reading of it; the whole Congregation (which that day was very frequent) run so hastily out of the Church (such was their Indignation) that before he had half done, there was not so much as one to hear him. So went Matters in that Church.

In other Churches of the City, some gave Obedience, and some did not. These who did it not met with pretty quick Justice, for the next Week they were Cited to appear before the Committee of Estates.

The first who appeared, was one Doctor *Strackan*, Professor of Theology in the Univerlity, and one of the Ministers in the *Trone* Church, an ingenuous Man, and a truly Primitive Christian: he made a Defence for himself, which many thought so reasonable then, that I cannot yet forbear to give you an account of it. It was this for Substance, That the Estates had found (in their claim of Right) that none can be King or Queen of *Scotland* till they have sworn the Coronation Oath: for this Reason they had Declared, that *James*, by assuming the Regal Power, and acting as King without ever taking the Oath required by Law, — had forfeited the Right to the Crown: That all the Estates had yet done, was only to nominate PP. *William* and *Mary*, as the Persons to whom the Crown should be offered; but they had not yet actually made the Offer; far less had PP. *William* and *Mary* accepted of it: it was possible they might refuse it, but though they should not, yet they could not be King and Queen of *Scotland* till they had solemnly sworn the Oath, which was not yet done; therefore he did not see how he could Pray for them as King and Queen of *Scotland*; nor how the Estates, in reason, or in consequence to their own Principles, could require it of him. I am told the whole Committee was silent; perhaps it has been for want of a ready Gift: yet, for all that, (and though he had in Family twelve or thirteen Children) there was no Mercy for him. His Defence (though it could not be answered) was not sustained; no further time to deliberate, was granted; but upon his confessing he had not Obeyed, he was forthwith deprived, and made the first Sacrifice. Nay, some other Ministers there were, who after they had used the same Defence, told moreover, they were willing to Pray for them as King and Queen, so soon as they had taken the Oath; but this availed not neither: they had not obeyed as the States had enjoined; and so they were Sentenced. Thus proceeded that Committee, and in two or three Weeks deprived betwixt twenty and thirty: and all too before PP. *William* and *Mary* had

had sworn the Oath ; or (which is all one) before Accounts came from *London* that they had done it : for upon their assuming the Royal Power (you know) the Execution of the Law belonged to them and their Council, and so there was no more place for that Committee.

PP. *William* and *Mary* took the Coronation Oath, at *White-Hall*, the Eleventh of *May* 1689. Then they named their Counsellors for this their Ancient Kingdom. They were, for the greater part, Persons who had never sat at that Table before : they came in upon a new Found ; they had new and untry'd Rules to walk by, new Designs to carry on : in a word, they had as it were, a split-new Syltème of Government to temper and establish. Besides, there were great varieties of Humors at that time in the Nation. Armies were in the Fields, and a Parliament was to Sit : so the Council had a vast Ocean of Business before them : and so for some Weeks, they had not leisure to fall upon the Clergy ; that is, till about the middle of *July*. Till which time leave we them, and return to the Rabble, to see what they were doing in the Country.

And indeed they were making clean work wherever they came ; I dare scarcely say, it was all one to them, whether the Ministers they fell on, had complied or not complied : for now the Compliers were meeting with the sharpest measures. After the Proclamation came out, for a while they remitted something of their Eagerness : they hoped the Proclamation (considering how deeply all who had taken the Test, were sworn, never to disown King *James* as their Sovereign) would ease them of their Labor ; but when they found that several were winning over their Oaths, and giving Obedience to the Estates Orders ; it gave them new Provocation. If such should be suffered to possess their Churches peaceably and securely, the *Presbyterian* Interest should still be at a loss : a great many of Episcopal Principles would still be in Office, which afterwards might breed Disturbances : Besides, if we may believe the Rabblers themselves, it irritated them to see any Man give Compliance upon this Head, that they looked upon them as perjured, and Men of no Conscience. Whatever the cause was, a good many found the Effects : such as Mr. *Mac-math*, Minister at *Lasswade*, (on whom three or four Fellows, came one Night, as he was going betwixt *Edinburgh* and his own House, stabb'd him with Awls and Bodkins, so that he had ten or twelve Wounds in his Belly : filled his Mouth till they had almost choaked him with the Dung of Horses, and then left him in that sad Condition) Master *Burges*, Minister at *Temple*, (though he was so earnest to Read and Pray, that when he saw the Proclamation was not
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like to be sent to him by Authority, against the Day appointed, he was careful to provide a Copy for himself, and Read it very faithfully,.) Mr. *Mac-Kenzie*, Minister at *Kirklistoun*, (who had for some years been Chaplain to Major General *Maccay's* Regiment in *Holland*, and was actually with him under the same Character at the Battel of *Gillybranky*,.) Mr. *Hamiltoun*, Minister at *Kirknewtown*, Mr. *Nimmo*, Minister at *Colington*, Mr. *Donaldson*, at *Dumbartown*, &c. Nay, I could instance in a whole *Presbytery* in *Galloway*; for upon the News that such a Proclamation was ordered; these Brethren met and consulted what was to be done; and in brief, the Resolution was, that all should give Obedience, and all truly did it; (as who could blame them, seeing besides the Authority of the Estates, they had the Votes of their own Consciences for it?) But within a few days not one of them escaped Rabbling: they were as indiscriminately turned out, as they had unanimously transferred their Allegiance from King *James* to King *William* and Queen *Mary*. Twenty more such Instances might be adduced, if it were needful: but there are three so very remarkable, that I cannot pass them by.

One is, Mr. *Mac-Gill*, Minister at *Killsyth*, within the *Presbytery* of *Glasgow*; all his Neighbour-*Presbyters* had been turned out before, he alone of that Fraternity, was spared till the 13th of *April* was past. The good Man loved his Religion, and, upon the precise Day, gave Obedience; but the very next *Sunday* a Rabble convened to interrupt him. It is true, they were that Day repulsed with Loss, for many of the People of the Parish appeared for him, and one of the Rabble was killed in the Scuffle. The poor Minister (no blood-thirsty Man) had fled for his Life to the Earl of *Kilmarnock's* House, who lived at no great distance, and knew not how the Fray was ended; but one Mr. *Maxwell*, the Lord *Killsyth's* Factor in these Parts, seeing the Man was dead, took Journey strait for *Edinburgh*, that he might be the first for acquainting the Lords of the Committee with what had happened. He told them, the Minister had given Obedience to the Proclamation; so that he had a right to the Protection promised in it; that therefore when the Rabble came upon him, a good many People found themselves obliged, to defend him, not only out of respect they had for him as their Pastor, but also for their own Security; for if they had not done so, they might have been liable to the Law, which obliges the several Parishes within the Kingdom to protect their Ministers; otherwise to be answerable for his Losses. He told them likewise, that one had lost his Life in the Quarrel.

The Lord Rose was then Preses of the Committee: when the Gentleman had thus far told the Story, his Lordship told him gravely, he wished the Rabble had not been opposed; such People cared not what they did; it had been better to have yielded to their Humor; he was truly sorry that Blood was shed; but in such a Case, it would be hard to get the Actor punished. But, my Lord, (said the Gentleman) he was none of ours, he was of the Rabble who was killed: what do you say (replied his Lordship) one of the Rabble! That may draw deeper than you are aware of. This to let you see the Humor which then prevailed amongst our Leading Men in the Government; and it brings me in mind of a Scotch Proverb I have heard, *viz. That Halkerton's Cow is a very old Beast.* But how ended the Matter? The next day, after they had buried the Man who was killed, the whole company fell upon Mr. Mac-Gill's House, rifled it; broke and tore all his Furniture to pieces, destroyed all his Books and Papers, carried off about 15 or 20 l. Sterling of Money, plunged his Hats and Periwigs in the Churn amongst some Milk, and pounded them with the Churn-Staff, emptied all his Meal out of its Repositories, and then the Chamber-Box amongst it; in a Word, you have hardly read or heard of such Barbarous Tricks as they plaid: The poor Gentleman sustained of Loss to the value of 150 l. (a good Stock for a Scotch Minister) and to this Day has got neither Reparation nor Protection.

The other two Instances shall be Mr. Craig, and Mr. Buchanan, both Ministers within the Presbytery of Dumbarton: I do not adduce them for any thing that was odd, and singular, in the Treatment they had from the Rabble; for so far, they received only the common Measure: But to let you see how little it avails Men, not only to have complied, but to have done good Services, if they have once owned Episcopacy. These two Gentlemen are Barons in *Stirlingshire*, that is, they hold such Lands of the King in Capite, as gives them the privilege of Voting at the Choosing Commissioners for Parliament, or being such themselves, if they should be Chosen. Now, when the Members were a Choosing for the late Meeting of Estates: the Gentlemen of that Shire of *Stirling* were almost equally divided about the Persons to be Elected for their Representatives. Four were Listed, two downright Malignants, Cavaliers, who would have been clear for King James his Interest; and two who were as clear for that of the Prince of Orange: When it came to be determined, the Votes ran equal, till it came to the two Laird-Ministers who were last, so they had the casting of the Balance, and both did it in favors of the new States-men: What could they have done

done more for the Prince of *Orange*? Their Votes made (and by Consequence were equivalent to, two Votes of) two Members of the Meeting for him; besides (not being turn'd out before the Thirteenth of *April*;) they did all Duty, Read and Prayed, &c. Yet now that they are Rabbled, no more Protection for them, than for the Rottenest *Jacobite* in the Kingdom. These are the Advantages of Compliance amongst us; not one of all those whom I have named (and as I said, it were easie to name as many more) has Protection to this Day, none of them dares venture to their Churches, few or none to their Houses.

By this you may see what were the Circumstances of the Clergy, during the interval between the Convention's being changed into a Parliament, and the middle of *July*, to which I now return.

What was the Cause that made the Council intermit so long the Deprivation of the Non-Complying Ministers, I am neither able nor careful to know: but it seems such delays were extremely unpleasant to the Presbyterian Preachers: wherefore they thought it convenient to give them the Spur to purpose. The Parliament was then Sitting; so they gave in a long Address to it: wherein, having thanked God for the great Deliverance wrought by his Instrument, the Pious and Magnanimous *William*, then Prince of *Orange*, now, by the good hand of God, their Gracious Sovereign; Complemented the Commissioner, and the rest of the Lords of Parliament; and mis-called Episcopacy, and Bishops, and all that own them, as very ill things; they come to their demands, where appears in the Van, the freeing this poor Oppressed Church from such Oppressors and Oppressions.

There are many other things in it worthy of your notice, particularly their Petitioning that the Church Government may be Established in the Hands of such only who by their former Carriage and Sufferings, have evidenced that they are known Sound Presbyterians — (This is nothing like Prelacy) and their requesting that the Church thus Established may be allowed by their Lordships Civil Sanction, to appoint Visitations for purging out Insufficient, Negligent, Scandalous, and Erroneous Ministers, (and what Apostle, if ye give him a Presbyterian Jury, shall not come within the comprehension of one of these four?) This Address, I say, was given in to the Parliament: and what wonder though the Council was awakened by it?

And, indeed, immediately, they fell to work, the Inquisition revived, and Summons were issued out, at the King's Advocate's Instance, against a good many; but before I come to their Success, there is one thing I must not forget to tell you.

Every

Every Man knows, and the commonest Equity requires, that publick Edicts or Proclamations, (especially when they are peremptory in their Dicts, and positive in their Sanctions) ought to be very carefully and authentically transmitted to those they do oblige. Yet never less Care taken since the World began, of the just and regular Conveyance of any thing, than there was of that Proclamation to the Ministers : there were hundreds of Ministers to whose Hands it came not till the Days prefixed were expired : particularly in the Shire of *Fife*, there are betwixt seventy and eighty Parishes ; yet I am credibly told, only six Copies came to the Sheriff Clerks hand, who was ordered to distribute them : and there was no such Clause in the Proclamation, as allowed, far less required them to obey it any *Sunday* thereafter : for what I remark this, you will know instantly.

Summonds were issued out, as I have said, and the Council (that they might shew a suitable Zeal, and be every whit as forward as the Party would have them, or as 'tis possible for the Ecclesiastical Visitations themselves to be, sit when they will) proceeded as summarily as could be desired. The Person cited heard a long Libel read, concerning the Irreligion, the Ingratitude, the Contempt, &c. of his Disobedience. After that, the President of the Council asked him, if he had read the Proclamation upon the day prefixed, and if he had ever since prayed publicly for King *William* and Queen *Mary* : (it was added sometimes by Name and Surname, when the Earl of *Crawford* was President) as King and Queen of *Scotland* ? If he answered [No] to both ; no Mercy for him. But I must be a little more particular on this Head.

Be pleased to know then that there was one Clause which in thirty or forty Libels, was never omitted. This, word for word : *Whereas the Ministers, by a Proclamation dated the Thirteenth of April, were commanded and required to read the same upon the respective Days therein contained, and pray* — Yet when the said Proclamation of the Estates was sent to him (the Person accused) at least came to his Hands, or of which he had knowledge (mark the Gradation, and the Equity of the several Steps, especially the last) he was so far from testifying his Gratitude, and giving due Obedience thereunto, that, &c. And who could stand before such an Indictment ? And indeed few were able. For

If the Minister pleaded, That the Proclamation had never come to his Hands, and was ready to swear it (as many might have done with a good Conscience) it profited him nothing ; he was guilty, by the third step of the Gradation, just now taken notice of. And it was all one, whether he had prayed for King *William* and Queen *Mary*, or not, if

if he had not read: *e. g.* Mr. *Guild*, Minister at *North Berwick*, told the Council, he had prayed for them from the very first day he had heard they were proclaimed King and Queen, and none in the Kingdom was more joyful than he, that a Protestant King and Queen were set on the Throne; (I have half a dozen anore of Instances of the same nature) yet he was deprived.

If he had both read and prayed, yet if it was not done on the precise days, there was no escaping. So it fared with Mr. *Hay*, Minister at *Kinsongabair*, *Hunter* at *Sterling*, *Young* at *Mony-vaird*, and many others, especially Mr. *Aird*, Minister at *Tory-burn*, (an old, grave, serious Man) who, though he brought a Certificate from the Sheriff of the Shire where he lived, bearing, that he had read the Proclamation on the Sunday immediately after he received it, was yet deprived without remedy.

One thing was remarked all alongst, *viz.* That the Question was never put whether they would give Obedience thereafter: no, there was no place for Repentance. And I remember to have heard, that some of the Magistrates of the Town of *Perth*, (aliàs *S. Johns-Town*), after both their Ministers were deprived, came to the Earl of *Crawford*, and insinuated to him, that they were hopeful. One Mr. *Anderson* (a good-natured Man, and a very good Pastor, and who had been one of the Ministers of the said Town) perhaps might be induced to comply yet; and that he would be extremely acceptable to the People, if he were reponed, &c. But presently his Lordship turned huffy, and told them, that was not so much as once to be mentioned: so they were forced to let fall their design. Indeed his Lordship is a most zealous Reformer, and as fit for being President at a Board, for turning out Episcopal Clergy-men, as could have been fallen upon. I remember, a certain Minister, who had been a good time of his Lordship's Acquaintance, went to him, thinking to have prevailed with him, to have got the Diet deserted; and they had a very pleasant Conversation. His Lordship asked whether he used publickly to pray for King *William* and Queen *Mary*? He answered, He prayed as the Apostle directed; and cited, *1 Tim. 2. 1, 2. Well* (says my Lord) *that's enough for us to deprive you.* After some more Discourse, the Minister said, he was sorry for the Desolations of the Church. And his Lordship answered very quaintly, *But so am not I.* The Work had never gone on so successfully, if he had not been on the top of it; for many times they had enough to do to get a Quorum of the Council (which can consist of no less than nine) on these days that were set apart for

the Clergy; (in effect, it was no wonder though ordinary Stomachs had some kind of loathing to it) and then his Lordship was in a strange pickle, and you would have seen strange running of Macers through the City, calling them from their Lodgings. But let me return to my Thread again.

Within a few days, the Council found it would make tedious work to have them all cited at the Advocates Instance, therefore they took a shorter method; it was the inviting and allowing the Parishioners and Hearers of such Ministers as had not obeyed, to cite them before the Council. This is the great purpose of that Proclamation, dated *August 16.* mentioned before. The Clause is this: *As also that such Ministers who have not read the Proclamation, and prayed — may be deprived of their Benefices. — The Lords of His Majesties Privy Council do invite and allow the Parishioners and Hearers of such Ministers — to cite them before the Privy Council, &c.*

This Proclamation served two purposes; first, it made quicker dispatch; and then, by it opportunity was given to every malicious Person to frame what Libels they pleased against their Ministers: both ends were served pretty successfully: Deprivations were more expedite, and more numerous than they had been before; and many Crimes and Scandals were libelled against several Ministers. 'Tis true, the Council never examined Witnesses, nor sustain'd themselves Judges concerning any thing but what was contained in the Grand Proclamation, viz. *Reading and Praying.* And they frequently declared, (when the Persons calumniate, craved that these Scandals and Immoralities might either be tried, or put out of the Libel) that they were not to insist against them on these Heads; yet the Libels with these things in them stand still on Record; and I hear full Accounts of them are sent to *London*, and daily printed there, and making good Company in the Coffee-Houses. No body ever doubted but there was something insidious and base in the design. Who knows but the Ecclesiastical Visitations, when they sit, will sustain all these Libels as sufficiently proven already, seeing they were before the Privy Council, and Sentence followed upon them? And God knows what other Fruits the keeping of them may produce! But certainly it had looked much liker to fair dealing, it had been more generous, and worthy of Gentlemen, if the Council, (seeing they were not to dip in these matters) had discharged them to be libelled, and suffered no more to be brought before them, than what they were to try and judge of.

One would think, now the Course was quick enough against the Clergy; yet within some other few days, it was found not to be expedite enough neither. In many Parishes there were none who would pursue their Ministers; and besides, it was somewhat expensive for the Lieges to raise Summons before the Council; wherefore

A further step was made, a third Proclamation was ordered, intituled, *For citing Ministers, who have not prayed for their Majesties*, and dated *August 22*; whereby (that with the greater Expedition, and the least Expence to the Lieges, the former Proclamations might attain their intended design and effect) Invitation and Allowance were again given, not only to the Parishioners and Hearers of the disobedient Ministers, but also to the Heretors of these Parishes (though living at never so great distance) and the Sheriffs and their Deputes, and Magistrates of Burghs, and the Members of the Current Parliament within their respective Bounds, to cause cite such Ministers before the Council, and Warrant was granted to Messengers at Arms, for citing them, and such Witnesses as were necessary; and that the Expedition might be greater yet, a Messenger's delivering a Copy of this Proclamation, either in Print or Writ, signed by his Hand, to each Minister that should be cited by him to any Tuesday or Thursday, (these two days of every Week were set apart intirely for that purpose) six days after the Citation, for all on this side the River *Tay*, and fourteen days for all beyond the said River, &c. And further it was declared, that the said Proclamation was without prejudice of any Citations already given, or to be given; either upon the former Act of Council, or upon Warrants from the Council-Board. Have ye not enough of Expedition now in all Conscience? Yet to make all surer still; and because they were finding that several had complied whom they were willing to have turned out, but had no shadow of Law to do it by;

At the instigation of the Presbyterian Ministers, Elders and Professors (as it self words it) upon the Twenty fourth of *August*, forth comes another Proclamation for a General Fast, to be kept on two Lord's Days, viz. on this side the *Tay*, *Sept. 15*. on the other side, *Sept. 22*. No question it was designed for a choaking morsel; for perhaps you never saw any thing like it. That it required Christians to fast on the Lord's Day, (though that was harsh enough, no ways fitted for a tender Stomach, and would have gone very ill down with *Tertullian* himself, as much as he was for Fasting) was the thing least nauseous about it, except the bad Grammar, and the good Stock of great Nonsense that was in it: for in effect (besides what was rela-

rive to the present State of Affairs) it not only unministered, but even unchristened the whole Regular Clergy, and these who owned them; and expressly bore, that God for a long time (since the Restitution of Episcopacy no doubt) had restrained the presence of his Spirit, in the Conversion of Souls, &c. And this Proclamation was to be read twice, and the Fast to be kept once, in every Church and Meeting-House within the Kingdom. Now to the success.

What wonder though these Twin Proclamations (for so I may call them, considering how short the interval was between their Dates) wrought strange feats amongst the poor Clergy? as indeed they did: for many who (with hard Gripings) had got the Proclamation of the Thirteenth of April digested, could not yet get that for the Fast forced over their Throats, particularly I could name two of the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, who the very next Week were deprived for it. And the other Proclamation was pretty good at citing those who had refused to give Obedience, as you may guess by its Nature. Yet I must confess it has not done all the skaith it might, as you shall hear anon, although it wrought Wonders, of a right strange Address: for by virtue of it, when some Ministers, far North, in *Murray*, or *Banff*, or somewhere thereabout, were Cited and Compeared, but were like to find the Diet deserted, because no Accuser appeared against them; by virtue of it (I say) upon that occasion, the Laird of *Brody*, one of the Privy Council, being a Member of the Current Parliament, representing that Shire where these Ministers liv'd, came to the Bar where they were standing, and smil'd, and told them, he would be their Accuser, and was as good as his Word, and then stept into his Seat at the Table again, and voted for their Deprivation. And so I come to the end of my History, when I have told you that thus it stands with the *Scottish* Clergy at present.

All our Bishops are turn'd out, and their Order abolished by Act of Parliament, dated *July 5*. Their whole Benefices for the Year 1689. are taken from them by publick Proclamation. The Number of Presbyters within the Kingdom, may be about 900 and 40 or 50, or so; of these, about 300 are turn'd out by Tumult and Rabble; and their Expulsion is (as to the most part) justified, and (as to the rest) condemn'd at by the Government; about 200 are deprived by Sentence of the Privy Council. Those who continue in their Stations (being the lesser half) may be subdivided into two Categories. A great many have giv'n no Obedience yet, and have escap'd, by the distance they live at from *Edinburgh* and Fanaticism, or because no body has delated

delated them; what may be such Mens Fate (if the present Methods continue) is easie to imagine. The rest have complied; but how far that may secure them, God only knows; but (if I may give my Conjecture) I think I may tell them: They have not done the half of what will be necessary to save them; and I think I have plausible Grounds to say this on. For not only can I give them a certain Minister by the Hand, to whom a certain Nobleman (a Privy Counsellor, who makes a considerable Figure at present, and who is Presbyterian enough too; though it seems he has more than the ordinary Ingenuity of the Party) said, he was truly glad, that Minister had made no Compliances, (they were Cousins; perhaps that made him speak more freely) and assur'd him, the present Compliance would save no Man; for the Resolution was, that none of the Episcopal Clergy should be spared. This I know to be of certain truth: Besides, the Council lately were beginning to let so much out: For when some Ministers in *Argyle-shire* (who Preach in *Irish*, by Consequence, whose Places cannot be so easily supplied, whom therefore they were not earnest to lay aside for altogether) were before them; though they made them the gracious Offer, made to few or none before, that they should be continued in their Ministry, upon their yet obeying the Proclamation, yet they would not allow them their own Churches: The secret of the matter is, all must be once out, none must enjoy their Benefices, by virtue of a Presentation from a Patron, and a Collation from a Bishop; if any shall be permitted hereafter to bear Office; they must come in upon the new Found, that's to be erected after the Presbyterian Model. This I am told the Statesmen are clear for: But then the Kirk-men must have their Terms too, and what they may be, I am not he who can Divine. Presbytery, Presbytery in Folio must be one; perhaps the Covenant may be another: And God knows what purgative Doses, those who have ever liv'd under Episcopacy must take, before they can be admitted into such a pure Society: I doubt it would puzzle Mr. *Salathiel Stiff-collar* himself, your famous *English Mountebank*, to tell beforehand what the Recipe may be: This is certain,

No Compliances any of the Conform'd Clergy have yet made, have brought them so much as one Inch nearer to a Reconciliation with the Presbyterians: Some have been at work enough to get their Countenance; particularly Doctor *Robinson*, and Mr. *Malcome*, two of the Ministers of *Edinburgh*: They have Preach'd once and again against the Pride of Prelates, and the Corruptions of the Church, &c.
(especially,

(especially the Doctor, whose great complaint it has been of late, that he has groan'd these twenty seven Years by-past under the Yoke of Episcopacy, although at the Restitution of the Government, he did not think his Mission good, having had only Presbyterial Ordination; and therefore was re-ordained by a Bishop.) They have sent once and again to the Presbyterian Clubs, intreating they might be admitted into their Fellowship, and to sit in their Presbyteries; and they have used all Arts for gaining belief that they are in earnest; for instance, they are both Prebendaries of the Cathedral of *Edinburgh*, and the Bishop pays to each of them ten pound Sterl. *per annum*: Through the long surcease of Justice that has been in the Kingdom, till of late, his Lordship had got none of the Revenue for the Year 88, and wanted not reason to doubt if ever he should have it; so their Fees for that Year were resting; wherefore in *August* or *September* last, they pursued him jointly, before the Bailiffs of *Edinburgh*, (no competent Judges) merely to cast dirt upon him, that thereby they might ingratiate themselves with the Godly; yet all has not prevail'd, they find the Party inexorable. By what is said, methinks you may now make a tolerable judgment of the Treatment the *Scottish* Clergy have met with hitherto, or are like to meet with hereafter.

One thing remains yet to be done, *viz.* to say something in Vindication of these Episcopal Clergy-men who have been so treated, and to account some way for their Lives and Abilities: I know there are strange things talk'd of them in *England*; for besides that the Prince of *Orange* last Year, declared them generally scandalous and ignorant, (as was noted before) the good Party have long had, and still have, their Instruments busie, printing and publishing odd Stories of them. So that perhaps, Sir, you may be as earnest to understand what can be said on that Head, as any thing I have yet dispatched. But I might with good reason disappoint you, and make that the shortest part of my task; indeed two or three Sentences might serve; for

It might be sufficient to say, that general Indictments ought still to go for Calumnies, and the proper defence is, to tell they are broad Lies. Let their Enemies condescend upon the particular Persons and the particular Crimes; that's the way to find Guilt; and whoever believes there is any, till that is done, is near of Kin to an unjust Judge. Dare they for their hearts pronounce all ignorant? or all scandalous? or all negligent? or all erroneous? or all of a persecuting Temper? If they dare, I hope, they are bound to make it good, against every

every Individual; and let them try that when they will. If they dare not (as certainly they dare not; even *Maababel* himself, their Master for that Politick, were he alive durst not) then, who sees not the Iniquity of these indefinite Aspersions? where were Christians taught to mix the Innocent with the Guilty, so indiscriminately? This, Sir, methinks, might pass for sufficient Antidote against all these bold Slanders; but lest it may not satisfy you, I have more to say, and God be Thanked, I can say it confidently, because I know it to be true: I can say,

The Church of *Scotland*, since the Reformation, was never generally so well provided with Pastors; as at the beginning of the present Persecution: 'Tis true, she has sometimes had some Sons; (such as *Doctor Forbes*, *Doctor Baron*, &c.) more Eminent for Learning, than perhaps any of the present Generation will pretend to; But what Church is there in the World, wherein every day, extraordinary Lights are to be found? It cannot be denied neither, that there are amongst us some of but ordinary Parts; but in what Church was it ever otherwise? It would be an odd thing, if the poor cold Climate of *Scotland* could still afford a thousand *Augustines* or *Aquinas's*; perhaps too there may be some, who are not so careful to Adorn their Sacred Office with a suitable Conversation, as they ought to be: But what wonder, when Our Saviour himself had one, a Devil, of Twelve in his Retinue? What Country is it where all the Clergy-Men are Saints? And therefore, I say it over again; the Church of *Scotland* was never so well planted, generally, since the Reformation, as it was a Year ago. This is a Proposition which, I confess, cannot be demonstrated so, by a private Man sitting in his Chamber, as to convince the Obstinate, or give full satisfaction to Strangers. But so far as things of that nature can be made appear plausible, and at a distance; I think this may be done very briefly, in answering the Charges commonly given in against them.

The first is Ignorance; but what's the Standard to judge by, whether Men have such a Competency of Knowledge, as may (*ceteris paribus*) qualify them for the Ministry? till that be condescended on, I might very well bid them put up their Objection in their Pocket, till they can make palpable Sense of it; at least, till that be done, this pretended Ignorance cannot be sustain'd, as a sufficient Argument for justifying the present Persecution. But how can the *Scottish* Clergy be so very ignorant? No Man (since I remember) was ever admitted to the Ministry, till he had first pass'd his Course at some

some University, and commenc'd Master of Arts; and generally none are admitted to Tryal for being Probationers, till after that Commencement they have been four or five Years Students in Divinity. The Method of that Tryal is commonly this; The Candidate gets first a Text prescrib'd him, on which he makes a Homily before some Presbytery; then he has an Exegetis in Latin, on some common Head, (ordinarily some Popish Controversie) and sustains Disputes upon it: After this he is tryed as to his Skill in the Languages and Chronology; he is likewise obliged to answer (*ex tempore*) any Question in Divinity, that shall be propos'd to him by any Member of the Presbytery. This is call'd the Questionary Tryal: then he has that which we call the Exercise and Addition; that is, (as it is in most Presbyteries) one day he must Analize and Comment upon a Text, for half an hour or so, to shew his Skill in Textual, Critical, and Casuistick Theology; and another day for another half hour, he discourses again by drawing practical Inferences, &c. to shew his Abilities that way too: And then lastly, he must make a popular Sermon; (I believe you have scarcely so severe Tryals in *England*) all this done, the Presbytery considers whether it be fit to recommend him to the Bishop for a Licence to Preach, (and many have I known remitted to their Studies;) if they find him qualified, and recommend him, he gets his Licence, he commences Probationer for the Ministry, and commonly continues such for two, three, four, or more Years thereafter, till he is presented to some Benefice; then he passes over again through all the foresaid steps of Tryal, and more accurately, before he is Ordained. What greater Scrutiny would you desire, as to point of Knowledge? But besides that, I have something more to tell you; it is,

That generally, since the Restitution of Episcopacy, our Divines have had better Education, &c. been put on better Methods of Study than ever they were before. They have learned to lay aside Prejudices, and trace Truth ingenuously, and embrace it where they find it. With our Predecessors, especially in the Times of Presbytery, the *Dutch* Divinity was only in Vogue. Their Common-place-men were the great Standards, and are so still to that Party, and whoever step'd aside one hairs breadth from their Positions, was forthwith an Heretick. But the present Generation, after the way of *England*, take the Scriptures for their Rule; and the Ancients and right Reason for Guides, for finding the Genuine Sense of that Rule; by which Method, in my Opinion, they are come to have their Principles and Thoughts

Thoughts far better digested. For Evidence of this, be pleased to know, Sir, that upon the Restitution of Episcopacy, *Anno 1662.* there were six hundred Good, who kept their Stations, and conformed. These were not only generally of Presbyterian Education, but likewise, for the most part, the ablest Men who were then in Office: There are many of these Men yet alive. Now, if this Experiment were made, if these Men, who had that Presbyterian Education, were examined upon their Skill and Principles in Divinity; and if again, those who have had the Posterior Education were likewise tryed; I could lay an even Wager, if I were much provok'd, I would venture three to one, all ingenuous and impartial Judges, should determine in favor of the latter Sort, and confess that they have clearer and more distinct Idea's of things, and understand the Christian Philosophy better. In a word, I'll affirm it confidently, that Philosophy was never understood better, nor never Preached better in *Scotland*, than it has been these twenty Years by-gone.

I must confess, it was never less practised: but for that we may thank the Presbyterians: Do not think this a Slander; for if they (during their twenty four Years Usurpation, i. e. from Thirty eight till Sixty two inclusive) had not made many things, such as Rebellion and Presbytery *Jure Divino*; if they had not baffled Peoples Credulity, by making all the Extravagances of the late Times, God's own Work, and the Cause of Christ, &c. And if they had not made it their chief work ever since; to create and cherish Divisions and Schisms among us, and keep up a Party for themselves, by all means possible: I doubt not, the Gospel (with God's Blessing) would have had more desirable Success, than it has had in this Kingdom. What a pernicious thing is it, needlessly to break the Unity, and disturb the Peace of a Church! I have often thought on that saying of *Irenæus Lib. 4. adver. Hæres. Cap. 62. Nulla ab iis (schismaticis) tanta fieri potest correctio, quanta est Schismatis perniciēs*; and the more I think on it, I find still the more of Important Truth in it: And believe it, Sir, if ever there was a Sect, since Christ came into the World, to whom that Fathers words in that same Chapter, were applicable, they are, (only one thing excepted) to our Scotch Presbyterians. *Suam utilitatem potius considerantes, quam Unitatem Ecclesiæ; propter modicas & quaslibet Causas, magnum & gloriosum Corpus Christi confcindunt & dividunt, & quantum in ipsis est interficiunt; pacem loquentes (here it only fails) & bellum operantes; vere liquantes Calicem, & Camelum transglutientes.* By their Divisions, they have still kept up such Rancors and Animosities amongst us; that

the Meek, Calm, Gentle, Peaceable Spirit of Christianity, could get no footing. And how can the Religion flourish without that? And by their bold, entitling all their unaccountable Freaks, in the late Times (as I said) to God's Authority, and abusing his Holy Word to justify them; they lost all the Credit of the Ministry. For so soon as Peoples Eyes opened, and they began to see what *Legendemain* had been plaid in the Pulpits; especially under such high Pretensions to Godliness, they look'd upon the Sacred Office of the Ministry (and continue to do so ever since) as a mere Imposture; so that though we are at never so much pains to persuade and convince; yet our Labors are not regarded, and if they be not that, how can they be successful? I know you'll think this a Digression. Be it so, I could not help it, I have such strong Impressions of the Truth of the thing, that I could not forbear to tell it you.

What I have said, methinks, may pass for a good enough Account of the Abilities of the Conform'd Clergy: Yet I have one thing more to add, I will not Recriminate, nor go to tell our Presbyterian Brethren back again, that of all Men alive they ought to have been the last, for charging us with Ignorance. But this I will undertake for; let them out of their whole Number within the Kingdom, chuse five, six, seven; or what Number they please, and the Episcopal Clergy shall be content that even out of the Diocese of *Glasgow*, (that Diocese which so much pains has been taken to make Infamous for its Ignorance) the like Number be chosen, for debating all the Points in Controversie between us, before any sufficient and impartial Judge in Christendom: And is not this enough *ad homines*? But I have dwelt too long upon this first Charge; and must make amends in what follows.

The second thing is Immorality, we are generally Scandalous as well as Ignorant: But I doubt, if amongst all the Episcopal Clergy in *Scotland*, they shall find a Match for their own Mr. *Williamson*: Let them shew me a Man that plaid such Tricks while a Minister, and was so little challeng'd, as he is, by his Brethren. Not to mention how (for all his Lewdness) he is now a Leading Man of the Party, and was lately one of their Commissioners at *London*. Indeed, Sir, what greater pains can be taken either to keep or to purge out scandalous Men from being of the Clergy, than our Constitution prescribes? After any Man is presented to a Benefice, before he is either Collated, or put in Orders; an Edict is read publickly, before the whole Congregation, in the Church where he is to be settled; requiring and inviting the Heritors, or any within

within the Parish, who have any thing to object against his Life, to do it on such a Day, before the Bishop, or some deputed by him; and if any Blemish be found that way, he is rejected: And for those who are once in the Ministry; I believe there is hardly a sharper Discipline any where than in *Scotland*. The least Crime proven against any has its Punishment: e. g. One Act of Drunkenness clearly made out, will Suspend him; and two (though some Years intervene betwixt them) are sufficient to Depose him, and Deprive him for ever.

But I need not dwell on these things: Your Bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Burnet*, if he pleases, can tell the World (I'm sure he has told it in many things as unreasonably) that when Dr. *Lighton* was Commendator of *Glasgow*, and he himself Professor of Divinity there; the Clamor about the Ignorance and Immoralities of the Clergy of that Diocese was such, that the said Commendator turn'd very earnest to have it purged: That for this end, he allowed and invited all People to accuse their Pastors, and give in what Indictments they pleas'd against them; that this was not done scruply neither, nor out of mere form; but if there was any Partiality, it was against the Minister: And yet after all that how many were found worthy of Deposition? only one (as I am told) of some hundreds; and he too, not without great suspicions of Injustice. Dr. *Burnet*, I say, can tell all this if he pleases; for no Man was deeper in that Inquisition than himself, being one of the Commendators chief Counsellors and Instruments. And after all, when both had done what they could, they were forced to confess the Clergy were injur'd, and it was nothing but the Spirit of Fanaticism, which made the People so unkind to them, and raise such Calumnies against them. Indeed it would have been hard enough for the greatest Confidence, not to have acknowledged so much; for if he pleases, he can likewise tell what pains were taken to bring the best Men, and best Preachers from all Corners to the West; to try how the People would be pleased with them, such as Mr. *Nairn*, Mr. *Aird*, &c. And how he himself went about as an Evangelist, shewing his Gifts every where; particularly in the Church of *Fennick*; where he distributed a great many Bibles, and some Money too, being earnest by all means to gain the People: And yet for all that he and all the other Evangelists were laugh'd at; and the People told that if they must needs have Curates, they would not change their own, for any of them. This work was fifteen or sixteen Years ago; and such was the Condition of that Diocese then: And yet though the Clergy in it, had deserved the

Epithets of Scandalous and Ignorant then, by what Consequence can they be applicable to them now, when perhaps the Third Man is not there now, who was there then? But to go on.

The Third thing is Negligence; but how can that be either? There's no such thing as Non-residence, or Pluralities in use in *Scotland*: Every *Presbyter* is censurable, who is two *Sundays* together from his Church, without Licence from his Ordinary; and generally we Preach twice every Lord's Day, through the whole Kingdom. But Negligence is like Ignorance; it will be hard to find that definition of Negligence, which will be able to justify such a general Persecution, as I have already accounted for.

The Fourth is Error: But how shall that be tryed? But, I think, I can easily give you Satisfaction, Sir, as to that matter; it is by telling you, that I know not so much as one amongst us, who could not live in Communion with your Church of *England*, and subscribe her Thirty Nine Articles. 'Tis true indeed, there be many, who are no ways inclined to be every day talking to their People of God's Decrees, and Absolute Reprobation, and Justification by Faith alone in the Presbyterian Sense, and such like Doctrines; they think their Hearers may be much more edified by Sermons, that explain the true Nature of Evangelical Faith, the Necessity of Repentance, and the Indispensibility of a Gospel-Obedience, &c. And what Error is there Here?

But the last thing is that we have been great Persecutors; grant it to be true, sure I am, by this time we are paid home pretty well in our own Coin; and God of his Infinite Mercy grant unto us all, that we may exercise a true Christian Patience, under our present Sufferings: And that they may work a better Temper in us, than it seems their pretended Persecutions have wrought in our Adversaries. Sure I am, 'tis no where Written in the Gospel, that Suffering for Christ may laudably end in Malice and Revenge, and the horridest Barbarities. But how can it be proven, that we were such Persecutors? Dare any Man say, that the Severities against the Presbyterians, since the Restitution of Episcopacy, have been near so great, as the Severities against the Episcopal Party were, during the Reign of Presbytery? Dare any Man say, that the Presbyterians have suffered any thing for Conscience sake these twenty seven Years by-past? Remember what I told you, not far from the beginning of this Letter. 'Tis true indeed, the State found there were a number of People of such seditious and ungovernable Tempers, that they could not be well kept from breaking out daily into open Rebellions: Therefore they made Laws for keeping them low, and curbing them; and

and who can blame this? 'Tis also true, some of these Laws obliged the Clergy to give an Account of those of that Temper, who lived or haunted in their Parishes: And could they Top with the Government and disobey Law, when the Obedience required, was so reasonable? Besides, believe it, Sir, the Clergy did as little that way, as was possible for them; and I can make it good, when ever I am put to it: That where one was pursued upon their Informations, twenty were befriended by their Intercessions: A signal Instance whereof I learn'd not long ago: it was in September last, when the Deprivations for Non-compliance were very frequent. Amongst the rest one Mr. *Chisholm* Minister at *Lilly*, was cited at the Instance of one Sir *John Riddel* of the Minister had given no Obedience, and so was very soon discuss'd: And when Sir *John* and he were just a coming from the Bar; where he had stood his Accuser, and heard his Sentence; he told him, before a good many Witnesses, that he confess'd he held his Life and Fortune of him; and protested he would never have treated him so as he had done, if it had not been matter of Conscience to him. What do ye think of a Presbyterian Conscience? I could give you an hundred more such Instances, for indeed it has been observed generally all along, that those have been the greatest Enemies to the Clergy, to whom they had done the best Offices. But it would require a great deal of Work to make you understand this Head of Persecution fully, and therefore I'll break it off: and tell you only briefly that,

If ever you come to understand the state of our Affairs distinctly, you will find, our Ignorance lies mainly in our being unacquainted with the Principles of *Section*, and the *Jus Divinum* of Presbytery; our Scandal, in our being so generally look'd upon as nothing fond of Change and Revolution: Our Negligence, in parting with our Benefices rather than our Consciences; our Erroneousness, in adhering so stubbornly to the Principles laid down in Scripture, and maintain'd by the Primitive Christians; and our itch for persecuting Dissenters to lie chiefly in our Inclinations, to live and behave as becomes good Subjects; or, if ye would have it shorter, we are ignorant, scandalous, negligent, erroneous, insufficient Persecutors; or whatever Men please to call us, because we are not Presbyterians.

That's truly the matter; and therefore we are now made to suffer so severely, not only by being so treated in our Persons and Privileges, as I have briefly accounted; but also by being so robb'd of our Reputations, and loaded with Reproaches: and all this too, under pretence to secure the Protestant Religion, and make these Kingdoms Happy.

I dare

I dare not tell you, how much I am tempted, when I reflect on all together, to ask you some unfashionable Questions, such as these: Is that to secure the Protestant Religion, when Men must either Suffer, or part with the most distinguishing Characters, and most undoubted Principles of the Protestant Religion? Is the rendering so many Protestant Ministers, useless and miserable; because they will not play *Jesuitish Tricks*, the way to secure Protestant Religion? Is there no other way to secure the Protestant Religion; but to transaccident it (pardon the word, 'tis as good as Transubstantiate) into a pretence for justifying all the Injuries can be done to our Spiritual Fathers? Is there no other way to make a Kingdom Happy, but by making downright havock of the Clergy in it? Cannot a Kingdom be Happy unless God's Portion be either turn'd out of their Functions in it, or run the hazard of being turn'd out of his favor, and excluded his Eternal Kingdom? These and twenty more such Questions, I say, I am strongly tempted to ask you, but I forbear: Only before I conclude,

As I said before, I will not recriminate with our Presbyterian Brethren, I will not go to tell them back again, that they are Ignorant or Scandalous, &c. I will not treat them so uncivilly as to throw back their Dung in their own Faces: I am not fond of such Retaliations. But this I will say, if they plant the Church of *Scotland*, so well as it was planted, when the Prince of *Orange* came to *England*, so long as he lives; if, for all their Pretensions to the Spirit, the Gospel be Preached so purely, so rationally, and so disinterestedly under their Government, as it has been by the Episcopal Clergy these many Years by-gone; if ever the State have Peace, or the Church come to a Settlement; if ever our King sit securely on his Throne, or *Cesar* have the things that are *Cesar's*: If ever the Church of *England* (as little as she has been concerned hitherto in her Sister's Afflictions) want a Horn in her side, or be secur'd against Attempts for her Ruin; and if ever there be Peace, or Order, or desirable Concord; if ever Animosities, Divisions, Contentions, and such other Plagues of Humane Society, and Christian Unity be wanting at home, so long as their *Dagon* stands in the Temple; Experience has deceiv'd me, and I have mistaken my Measures.

Thus, Sir, you have a brief Prospect of the present State of the *Scottish* Clergy, fuller by much than at first I intended, perhaps than you are pleas'd with, and ye may think it tedious: But I acknowledge I have that Weakness; I have not the Faculty of dispatching things so smoothly, and so shortly, as possibly your Palate would require: But

but my Apology is ready: I have omitted an hundred things, proper to have been inserted: If I am tedious, it is in telling Truth; and if the length of this weary you, you shall not be so troubled again: For these Reasons expecting your Pardon; I am, &c.

The Third LETTER.

S I R,

I Told you in the Conclusion of my last, that I had omitted many things proper to have been inserted: I could easily justify it, by giving you another every whit as long and full of matter of Fact as it was: particularly I could give you a great many more Instances of Ministers, who received hard measure from the Council; such as *Pitcairn of Logie*, who was Deprived, though these eight or nine Years by-gone he has been intirely disabled for the Pulpit, through Old Age and Infirmary, and has been obliged to maintain an Assistant. *Jonhnie* at *Abernethy*, upon his not appearing the very Minute he was first called, though he kept the Day precisely, to which he was cited, and was present about Twelve of the Clock, and had the *Forth* to cross that Morning; and the Council at that time used to sit as well after as before Noon, for Depriving Ministers. *Faloner*, a Minister in *Murray*, notwithstanding he pleaded for himself, that the Lord *Dundee* was his Hearer that day on which the Proclamation was ordered to be read; that it was easie to conjecture what might have been his hazard, had he read it in his hearing; that after that, he had prayed publicly for King *William* and Queen *Mary*: that if the Council should yet enjoin him, he would read the Proclamation; and that for his part, he believed Presbytery was as agreeable to the Word of God, and as subservient to the Ends of Christianity as Episcopacy; and therefore was as willing to keep his Ministry under the one as the other: but there was Original Sin in him; he was a Bishop's Son, and so no Mercy for him. But *Moncrief*, Minister at *Herriot*, his Case is prettiest of all; he has done all Duty, and

and made all Compliances, yet his Church is disposed of, and a Presbyterian Preacher actually and formally admitted to it. Twenty other Instances might easily be collected.

I could likewise tell you what Severities have been used in turning Ministers out of their Dwellings this Winter, after their Deprivation; as in the Case of Mr. *Galbraith*, Minister at *Jedburgh*, a very Reverend and Worthy Person. All the Gentlemen within the Parish Addressed to the Council in his behalf; protested they were sorry that he was Deprived; supplicated that he might be permitted to live this Winter in the *Mansé*, i. e. Parsonage-House, for no body was making pretensions to it, no Presbyterian Preacher was settled there, and it was a Thatch'd House, it would be endamaged if it were not inhabited, if Fire were not kept in it, &c. But for all that, the good Parson was forced to remove by the Council's Order. The same was also the Case of Mr. *Millar*, Minister at *Mussleburgh*, and very many others. Nay, (I know not if they have got their secret Instructions renewed for it) the Rabbling Work is revived in the West lately, and now they will not suffer the poor afflicted Ministers, (who were thrust out a Year ago) to stay so much as in that Country, though they have no Money to transport their Families with, being refused payment of their by-gone Stipends. So it has fared within these few Days with Mr. *Hamilton*, Minister at *Kirkswald*, and *Irwine* at *Kilbride*; and I am told there is a Design to banish from that Town all who live in *Dumfries*; and those in *Glasgow* dread the same likewise.

I cannot forbear neither, to tell you what has happened lately at *Edinburgh*: there are five or six of the Episcopal Clergy in that City, who have given all Obedience; so they still possess their Churches. Each of these Churches has its own Utensils, Basons, Lavers, Changers, Chalices, Communion-Table-Cloaths, &c. all Dedicated long ago by private Persons, who lived in the respective Parishes. A Church Treasurer is chosen yearly by the Church-Sessions, to whom these Utensils are consecrated, and to these Sessions he is accountable for them at the Years-end. This has been one immemorial Custom in that City; yet the present Magistrates (all rank Presbyterians) would needs have these Utensils delivered up to them; particularly, they required them of him who this Year bears the Office of Church-Treasurer, or, which is all one, who is the Elder or Church-Warden, to whom the Utensils of that Church for this Year are entrusted, for that which is commonly called the *Tolbooth* Church; he refused to surrender them, (and why should he have done it? They were not so much

much as Dedicated by the Publick, and they were that Churches Property. No Magistrates had ever demanded the like before, and the present Magistrates are no more concerned in them, than in any private Citizens Furniture: For this he was thrust into Prison; but he made Application to the Lords of the Session, who found the thing so infinitely illegal, that they forthwith ordered his Liberation, and discharged such Proceedings for the future. Perhaps you may think this is but a Trifle, but there is more in it than you are aware of: For, besides that Sir John Hall, present Provost of *Edinburgh*, is a Privy Counsellor, and consequently is not to be supposed to have attempted such a thing without first consulting *Crawford*, and some others who sit at that Table; there is this at the bottom of it: In each of these Parishes there is a Presbyterian Meeting-House, and the Preachers (though they stand on no other Found, but King *James* his Toleration) hold themselves for the rightful Pastors of these Parishes, and so pretend that the Use of these Utensils belongs to them, and they ought to have them in their Custody: This was that which put the Magistrates upon the foresaid Course.

Innumerable such things as these I could easily Collect, and weary your Patience with them, but, methinks, by this time, you have got Taste enough of the Episcopal Parties Troubles on the one hand, and the Presbyterian Parties Temper on the other, to make you understand both competently; and that was all I intended. Only there are two things perhaps, which you may be desirous to have some further Satisfaction about; and I will try if I can give it.

The first is, That possibly ye may apprehend, I did not in my last sufficiently take of these Aspersions which are thrown upon the Episcopal Clergy by the Fanatick News-Mongers, in their Malicious Papers, and Pamphlets, which they are Printing and Dispersing so confidently every day at *London*. To tell the truth, Sir, We only hear of these Papers; at least, for my part I have seen none of them: they come not ordinarily to *Scotland*, and I believe their Authors are no ways inclined they should, (it requires a great deal of Forehead to tell Lies where they can be easily discovered;) and not coming our hands, how can we detect or expose their Falsities? I am sure, I said enough in the general to fortifie you; or any sober Man, against them; especially as to all these Ministers deprived by the Council; for, (as I said there) the Council never took notice of any thing but Reading and Praying. But what though Malicious Men tell false Stories with a great deal of Confidence? Are you such a Stranger to the World, as not to know that Lying has ever

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been

been one of the chief Artifices by which that Party have carried on their Purposes? It is no new Politick of theirs. I could tell you some of the oddest Stories that ever you heard since you was born, concerning their dexterity in that Art in the late Times, but I will trouble you only with one at present: indeed, the whole World should know it, it has such Peculiarities in it.

You know how, *Anno 1638.* at the Assembly of *Glasgow*, they not only pretended to depose the Bishops, but even to excommunicate many of them; amongst the rest, that most reverend and worthy Prelate, *Spotswood* Archbishop of *St. Andrews*. The Sentence of Deposition and Excommunication passed against him, was ordered to be read publicly, after the Forenoon-Sermon, in all the Churches within his Diocese; and in it a great many horrid Immoralities (such as Incest and Adultery, &c.) were amissed. Amongst many others, it was read particularly in the Church of *Kilrinny* in *Fife*, by Mr. *Coline Adam*, then Minister there: *Beaton* of *Balfour* was in the Church at the time, he was not a little amazed at hearing such strange things charged upon the Archbishop: He had lived many a Year in his Neighbourhood, he had been frequently in company with him, but had never discovered such Crimes about him; so that he was exceedingly surprized: But that was the least of it; in the progress of the Sentence, he heard himself named; as one of four Witnesses, who had been examined upon Oath, and by their Testimonies had proven these things against him. This astonished him quite, for it was not only notorious to all the Neighbourhood, that, during the whole time that famous Assembly sat, he was not at *Glasgow*, but still at home, but no-body knew it better than Mr. *Adam* himself; for he had not only been his constant Auditor every Sunday, but he had seen him (or might have done it) every Day, there being but a very short distance (perhaps not two hundred Paces) betwixt their Dwellings. In effect, it put the Gentleman in such disorder, that he had well nigh stopped the Minister's reading any further, if his Father, who was by him, had not hinder'd him, telling him, he would ruin himself. However, after they came out, he challenged the Minister; who easily confessed, he knew it was a Lye; but pretended, he behoved to read it, in Obedience to Authority. And what might he not have done after that? Tell me, Sir, Was not this a well assured Wickedness? This Passage I have from Persons of great Integrity, yet alive, who told me, they had it twenty times from *Beaton's* own Mouth; and it is but one of a thousand, as good, if I could be at the pains to collect them: *Pia frander* (talk we what we please) have

have done good Service, and been excellent Christian Tools in their time, for carrying on the *Good Old Cause*. But it was not Scarcity that made me go so far back for Proofs of Presbyterian Honesty; these twelve or fourteen Months by-gone afford variety enough in all Conscience. Thus to instance but in two or three things.

What Effrontery was used last Year at *London*, for running down all the Accounts were sent up concerning the Persecution of the Western Clergy, as I told you before? Such ingrain'd Impudence (had it not been seen and felt) I had believed, could neither have come from Hell, nor It, the two grand Staple Ports for that Commodity.

What Relations of Oaths, what confident Assertions, what printed Papers had we for King *James's* being dead at *Brest* in *March* last? I remember, the present Earl of *Argile*, one Day, disturbed a whole Meeting-house with a forged Letter about it.

With what Shamefacedness did the News go up first, and then come down again from *London*, in *September* last, and pass current here, that the Streets of *Edinburgh* were thronged with the Heads or Chieftains of *Clanns*, coming in daily to take the Benefit of King *William's* Indemnity, that was published after *Dundee's* death; though all the Kingdom knows, not so much as one has come in, to this very Day? And what strange Tales have been told, of the wonderful Feats of *Iniskilling-Men*? I remember, some Gentlemen, about two Months ago, went in one Afternoon to a Presbyterian Coffee-house, called for the News book, cast up the Account of the *Irish* killed by them; and after Computation, found the Number amounted to above Forty eight Thousand. These are but their ordinary Tricks, and with us they have now ceased to be scandalous; for by Custom we are come to reckon it no more strange to find that Party lye, than to see *Danes* drink, or *English-Men* eat Pork, or Pork Pudding. So that, indeed Sir, I pity you heartily, if your Charity towards the Episcopal Clergy in this Kingdom can be in the least shaken by the Boldness of these miserable Scriblers.

I will only add one thing more upon this Head, and that is, That whatever may be published that way, must needs be false upon this Account, that (as very many have observed) since ever the Deprivation-Work began, all the Favour shewn, has been to those who least deserved it: And if there was any less knowing, less circumspect in their Lives, or any way less qualified for continuing in the Ministry, they are the Men who have hitherto escaped Deprivation. The Politick is no more damnable, than understood; for as the shewing some Favour to such, with less discerning Persons, may chance to pass for an Argument

of the Council's Moderation; so, under this Cover, they have the opportunity of doing a great deal of Mischief; they ruin more securely, and with less Observation, those of unquestionable Lives and Abilities, and disable them from being Remorae hereafter, either to the Settling, or Securing Presbytery, which they are afraid they might have been, after the present Ferment is over, had they continued in their Stations; and hereby they hope to ruin their Reputations too with People who think little, and Strangers who cannot know all the Intrigues of their Business; for such may readily conclude they have deserved worse, seeing these are deprived, while others are preserved; and then, besides all this, to these least deserving, the seeming Favour of sparing them at present is shewn upon this Design, in all likelihood, that afterwards they may be ruined and disgraced with the greater Contempt and Ignominy; for, being the weaker Men of the Episcopal Side, they foresee they will not only not be able to make a suitable Resistance to the zealous Gang, when it shall be in Circumstances to dispute it with them, but also it will be easie for the Ecclesiastical Visitations to depose them; and not only so, but their Fall, when it comes, may be readily improv'd into an heavy Reflection on all of Episcopal Principles; and Fanatics will have in readiness to say, that the whole Party was still such, and by these it may be judged what all the rest either were or are. This is truly the Politick, Sir; but by this time I think I have insisted too much on this purpose.

The other thing perhaps is more material; for when you have considered all I said in my last, perhaps you may think it strange that you have found nothing concerning the Inclinations of the generality of the People; and such a general Persecution of the Episcopal Clergy on the one hand, and so deep a Silence concerning the Resentments of the People on the other, may perchance seem to you a Demonstration of the Truth of that Article in our new Claim of Right, (for we may thank our Stars, we have once gotten an Original Contract betwixt King and People,) which affirms, that Prelacy, and the Superiority of any Office in the Church above Presbyters, is and hath been a great and insupportable Grievance and Trouble to this Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the generality of the People, &c. But the Truth is, Sir, as from the beginning I was unwilling to fall foul upon the State, so I thought that did not come so naturally in my way; for my Design was, only to acquaint you with the Treatment of the Clergy, and not to canvas every Assertions that has been boldly obtruded on the World by their Persecutors. But seeing that Article makes such a noise, and I hear some of
your

your *English* Pamphleteers are taking notice of it, and talking confidently that it is true, I am content to trouble you with a dozen of Lines, or to, about it. And in the first place,

Perhaps it might be sufficient to say no more; but, What then? What though the generality of the People were so inclined? Will it follow, therefore, Episcopacy ought to be abolished in *Scotland*? If I mistake not, I have heard as good Arguments answered with a *Non sequitur*. But if I am mistaken, and the Argument is good, then all you Gentlemen, the Divines of *England*, are most miserably affronted; affronted, I say, by the *Scotch* Meeting of Estates, though there was not so much as one Divine amongst them, when they voted their Claim, of Right: You have been wretchedly out all this while, in your Disputes with the Papists, though you made a great noise with them (and they were too weak for you) these four or five Years by-gone. You have never hit upon the true Rule of Faith and Manners (shall I call it) or the Judge, the infallible Judge of Controversies; that Honor was reserved for the *Scotch* Laicks, they are the Men who have been the true Students of the *Disciplina Arcani*, and have fallen upon the Knack; The Inclinations of the generality of the People (though God knows what a Rule it would have made in our Saviour's time) are the thing; they are Rule or Judge, or whatever you please to call them; and what more would you have? Lord, what a Field has a Man here, if he pleased to be wanton! But I must cut short, and therefore let me return to be serious: Why then, to tell you in a Word, Sir, if I may say it without giving the Lye to the Convention,

There is not a false Proposition in the World, than that the Inclinations of the generality of the People of *Scotland* are against Episcopacy, or that they look upon it as a great and insupportable Grievance and Trouble to the Nation: And let us have a Poll for it when they will, and you shall quickly see the Demonstration. If this does not satisfy you, I have more yet to say.

I can affirm with a well grounded Assurance, that if by the People you mean the Commonalty, the rude, illiterate *Vulgus*, the third Man through the whole Kingdom is not Presbyterian; and if by the People you mean those who are Persons of better Quality and Education, (whose Sense, in my Opinion, ought, in all reason, to go for the Sense of the Nation,) I dare boldly aver, not the thirteenth: For, notwithstanding all the Clamours that are made on that Head, 'tis well known to all the Kingdom, that Fanaticism has all along had little footing in that far wider half of the Kingdom, which lies on the North of the Tay; and

and though the Party has been infinitely earnest and active to increase and multiply their Numbers every where, yet in all that Country they could never get above three or four Meeting-houses erected, and these no very little frequented, or encouraged: Nay, even on this side the *Ty*, (except in the five associated Shires in the West,) the third Man was never engaged in the Schism. For convincing you of this, I will ask no other Postulate, than what I suppose you, and all considering Men will readily grant; and that is, that Fanaticism is more apt to spread and prevail in Towns, than in the Country; so that by them we may best judge of the Numbers of the Party. It would make an intolerable Work to go through all; let me only instance in some of them, where the Experiment has been remarkably made, not many Months ago; and by these you may judge of the rest.

At *Perth*, (or *St. Johnstown*,) where now a Presbyterian Minister is most illegally possessed of the Church, the tenth Man does not go to hear him; and particularly, not one of the Magistrates, though they were elected by Poll. At *Compar*, in *Fife*, the Presbyterian Preacher (now possessed of the Church) sometimes has not forty or fifty People in his Congregation: The great Body waits all upon the Regular Clergy, who have there got a Meeting-house. 'Tis much the same at *St. Andrews*. At *Sterling*, and *Burn-Island*, the Magistrates were likewise chosen by the Poll, but all Malignants, as they call them: At *Sterling* (as I am told) the Presbyterian Votes were not One to Six; at *Burn-Island*, they were but One to Three. 'Tis true, indeed, the Privy Council has turn'd out these Magistrates in both Towns, and put Presbyterians in their stead. Some admire how arbitrarily it was done, but I am only concerned for the Inclinations of the generality of the People.

At *Musselburgh*, more than eighteen of twenty Parishes have once and again (since their Pastor was deprived) supplicated the Council, that, during the Vacancy, they might have Regular Clergy-Men to officiate amongst them. I could instance also in *Dumfermling*, *Dysert*, *Weems*, *Leith*, *Fedburgh*, *Kells*, and many other places. Nay,

Even in *Edinburgh*, the Churches where the Episcopal Clergy (who have complied) preach, are more thronged, and better frequented, than the Churches usurped by the Presbyterians; not to mention, that every Sunday there are five or six several Meetings of Men, who are not very well pleased with either Presbyterians, or complying Episcopalians. Shall I tell you further yet, what I am credibly told concerning even *Glasgow* itself? I am told, Sir, that even in that City, which has been so famous for Pharisaick Zeal, and wherein, on *Christmas* last, for a demon-

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stration of it, the Rabble (with the present Earl of Argyle on their Head) burnt, with the Pope, our two Archbishops in Effigies: I am told, I say, that even in that City, the greater number of Citizens of the best Quality are of Episcopal Principles.

Indeed, Sir, Whatever number of Friends they might have had a Year or two ago, I am confident this Day it is diminished by a Third; for besides that Peoples Eyes are now beginning to open, and see the Inconstancy of their Principles and Practices with the common Rules of Nature, as well as Christianity, they are beginning to have enough of their Cant; and to be weary of their Sermons. And here I cannot forbear to relate to you a passage, which I had lately from a very ingenious Gentleman: He had had a Conversation with another Gentleman of good Quality, and good Abilities, but who had been engaged by his Interest to go to the Presbyterian Assemblies; in their Conversation they came to talk concerning the Presbyterian Preachers, and that Gentleman told my Author, he had now heard them for two Months, or so; but he had observed, that he had never so much as heard one Criticism at the Explication of a Text, never one Citation out of Father, Poetry or Philosopher, never one passage either of Civil or Church History. *What!* (replied my Author) *It seems then ye get nothing but pure Scripture, clean Gospel: But tell me, Do ye get any great abundance of good Sense? To tell the truth,* (he answered,) *even as little of that too as any Man could wish.* * But what needs more? They themselves are beginning now to be sensible that they are, by far, the smaller Party; and if I pleased, I could name a certain Person, a Statesman, who had a great hand in the late Revolution, and has yet in the present Government, who confessed lately to another certain Person, that now he was persuaded (though he never believed it before, that the Episcopal was not only by far the greater, but even the better part of the Nation. But after all this,

Perhaps you may start the Difficulty: How came it then to pass, that that Article was put in the Claim of Right, and the Presbyterian Party prevailed so far in the Convention and Parliament? I could easily give you abundant satisfaction as to that too, but it would require a fuller Deduction than I am willing to fall upon at present; only, in a Word, when the Members for the Convention were a choosing, the Kingdom generally was in a perfect Confusion; vast numbers of People there were, whose Opinions would not allow them to give any Countenance to the then Transactions, they having many Scruples in their Heads concerning the Lawfulness of that whole Procedure: On the other hand, the Presbyterians.

* See the
Postscript.

byterians, fond of the Opportunity of getting a King deposed, and their *Diana* set up) were infinitely diligent; so many Elections were very far from being what they would have been, had the Loyal and Episcopal Party bestirred themselves as they might: Neither yet would that have done the business, in all probability; for, even as Elections passed, when the Members first convened at *Edinburgh*, had any Interest espoused by them been subjected to a Vote, Affairs had gone far otherwise than they did. But the Presbyterian Party fore-seeing that, industriously projected Delays, and protracted Time, and in the interim were infinitely vigilant to bias the Members; so that before either the Forfeiture of the King, or that Article of the Claim of Right I am now concerned in, were voted, many of the Nobility, all the Bishops, and a great number of Barons and Burgesses had deserted the House, and not a few of those who stayed had (what through Fear and Weakness, and the like Infirmities) changed their Principles which their Electors supposed were in them, and they brought to *Edinburgh* with them. This is the true way that Matters went. I could easily give you an Account of the Topics were made use of, for inveigling these Members who were imposed upon: It was impossible the Protestant Religion could be otherwise secured; *England* was a wise Nation, they had set the Crown on King *William's* Head already; if *Scotland* should dissent, it would ruin the Nation; the *English* were satisfied Presbytery should be established here, and King *William* was earnest for it; (which, to tell you by the by, I never, or very hardly could persuade my self to believe;) and a great many more to the same purpose. These, and twenty things more, I could deduce more largely, if it were needful; but my Paper is now very near spent, and so you must content your self with what you have got at present.

WOL

Thus, Sir, in two long Letters, I have endeavoured in part to satisfy you concerning the present Estate of the *Scottish* Clergy. If my Account is lame, it is no wonder, for I am none of the most observing Men in the World; and I was obliged, for very good Reasons, to forbear consulting others, and use only such Materials as my own Observation could afford me. But this I can say over again, Though you have not all, yet you have nothing but Truth; and though it be not well digested, it is as well as I could; considering my Conveniences. And so I bid you heartily farewell;—being, &c.

POST-

P O S T S C R I P T.

I was once minded to have told you fully too, what bitter Reflections our Presbyterians are daily casting upon your Church of *England*; how they condemn her Clergy for deserting the Principles of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, they were wont to Glory so much in; how it is their common Talk, that King *William* loves Episcopacy as ill in *England*, as in *Scotland*, and would be content to have it away (they believe, to make way for the *Dutch Model*) if he could get it done; and twenty other such Stories. But I believe, 'tis only their Hatred to your Constitution, makes them talk so. Yet this is certain, we have here Reprinted a Pamphlet, called the *Ceremony-monger*, and (as I am informed) at the command of some great Person.

I am afraid, that possibly I may have been injurious to the Privy Council, in giving a partial Account of their Act passed on *Christmas Eve* last; for I find many People are of the Opinion, that it is not to be limited to the year 89, but may comprehend former years also, for which Reason, and because in its Narrative, it brings some further Light (though it needed no more) to what I had asserted concerning their being refused the Protection of the Government, who were turned out of their Churches by the Rabble, before the Thirteenth of *April*, I have subjoined the Act here word by word, as it stands in the Register. And 'tis thus:

At Edinburgh, Decem. 24. 1689. The Lords of His Majesties Privy Council considering, that by the Act of the Meeting of the Estates of the Date the Thirteenth of April last, there is a difference made betwixt the Ministers then in possession and exercise of their Ministry at their respective Churches, and those who were not so; and that the Case of the Ministers who were not in the actual exercise of their Ministerial Function the Thirteenth Day of April last by-past, lies yet under the Consideration of the Parliament; and lest in the mean time they may call and pursue for the Stipend alledged due to them, or put in Execution the Decrees and Sentences already obtained at their Instance, for the same, before the Estates of Parliament can meet, and give their Determination as to that Point. Therefore the said Lords of Privy Council, finding that the Case foresaid, depending before the Parliament, is not obvious to be cognosced, and decided upon by the inferior Judges but that the same should be left intire to the Decision of the Parliament, have thought fit to signifie to all inferior Courts and Ministers of the Law, that the Matter

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above-mentioned is depending before the Parliament; to the effect they may regulate and govern themselves in the judging of all Processes to be intended before them upon the said Matter, or in executing Sentences already pronounced thereupon, as they will be answerable.

Sic subscribitur,

Craford J. P. D. S. lon.

I have just now (after my Sheet was ended) learned a Passage, which is put for the confirmation of that which has a Cross at it, and on the Margin refers to the Postscript. It is, that a Presbyterian Minister in *Edinburgh* confessed (with regret) to a Gentleman, this same very Week, that within this Half-year by-gone their Party has lost a great many Thousands; 'tis true, he called them forty; but I must beg his Pardon; for I doubt if they could ever reckon by so great numbers in the whole Kingdom, (I still except the five Western Shires, where yet there's as little Religion as in any part of Christendom.) He said further, that tho Patronages were a great Corruption, and the Church would never be well constitute till they were abolished, and popular Elections advanced in their stead, yet they are not inclined that that matter should be determined the ensuing Session of Parliament, because they find, as the present Inclinations of the generality of the People go, were the settling of Ministers referred to popular Elections, they would chuse all either *Cameronians*, or of Prelatical Principles: I suppose his Meaning was, in the often mentioned five Western Shires, *Cameronians* would be chosen, and Episcopal Clergy-men through the rest of the Kingdom generally. By this ye may judge, whether I had reason to say, that their Party is very much diminished, and themselves are very sensible of it.

The

The Fourth LETTER

Edinb. Jan. 11. 1690.

S I R,

I With you a good New-Year. When I parted with you lately at *London*, I found your Tenderneſs and Compaſſion inclin'd you to lament the ſad Condition of our Church; and I remember you order'd me then to let you know whether the truth of Things would juſtify the Reports that went current there, of the Sufferings of the Clergy: I found that the half was not told you then of what is commonly known in this place. No Hiſtory can parallel the tragical Diſaſters the Clergy have met with ſince the beginning of this Revolution: it is very ſurpriſing, the preſent Governors ſhould make it their Buſineſs to ſacrifice the Epiſcopal Clergy (by Law eſta bliſhed) to the Fury and blind Rage of an oppoſite Faction: Strangers will wonder at it; and it is not eaſily accountable what can be the Politick to imbitter ſo conſiderable a Body. It is ſhameful for the Judges to be ſo partial, as plainly and openly to avow, they do not intend their Obedience, but their Ruin. To give you a particular Account of the Diſgraces and Affronts put upon the Clergy ſince the beginning of 1689. would fill a Volume: How they have been driven in the midſt of Winter, with their Wives and tender Children, from their Houſes and Reſidence: nor is this to be imputed ſo much to the barbarous Executioners, as to the bloody and enthuſiaſtick Company that inspir'd them. There is no Safety for ſome Men, but in the univerſal Shipwreck of Church and State: the ſhaking of the Nation was ſo terrible, that all the Scum got uppermoſt; our State and our Church were at once levelled with the Earth, and the Proteſtant Religion loſt its former ſignification (when we underſtood by it unmix'd Chriſtianity free from Superſtition and Enthuſiaſm) and now it is no more than every Man's fantaſtick Humor, new Models of Government, and a liberty to pull down the things that are moſt ancient and moſt ſacred. Will not the Proteſtants of *England* wonder, that ſome of our Miniſters have been deprived for not reading a Proclamation for a Faſt, the Nar-

rative whereof implied no less than that the Episcopal Clergy were destitute of the Assistance of God's Spirit in the exercise of their Ministry: You may see the Paper when you please, and I believe a coarser you never saw in print. Not to mention here, that the Art of all Mankind could not make Sense of a certain Paragraph in it. And is it not as odd, that when they were sifted before the Council, they were not so much as once asked why they did not read that extraordinary Paper, concerning the late King; nor whether they will comply with the present Government for the time to come. I know, if this Paper be seen abroad, their Impudence will contradict it, but a matter of Fact so publicly known, defies Calumny it self. I have spoke with many of the Clergy here, and with a great many of the Laity; and I never heard of any thing more bitter and persecuting. How unworthily the Ministers of *Edinburgh* particularly have been treated in this Affair, the World may judg by this one Instance. The said Paper pass'd in the Convention of the Estates upon *Friday*, it comes from the Press late at *Saturday*, and the Ministers within the City upon half an hours Advertisement on *Sunday* Morning were enjoined to Read it, under pain of Deprivation. I remember you once blamed the Clergy for not Addressing the present Court for Protection: They made their Application from the beginning, but to no purpose, though they were furnished with all necessary Evidence of their bad Usage. You know that Presbytery is to be established here by the next Session of Parliament; and you know that the *Roman* Inquisition is not half so rigid as that will be when they are once in the Saddle: To what purpose then should they beat the Air, when their Ruin is thought by many to be a part of the Bargain. There is nothing so inconsistent with Presbytery, as Toleration of any that differ from them in the least Iota: It is true, they are against the Apostolick Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, but they will not be resisted themselves. And since the Episcopal Clergy here know they are given up as a Prey to their Enemies Teeth, they had rather sit silent under their Malleur, than struggle with the Stream when it is so violent and impetuous. The present Faction endeavor by all Art and Industry, to persuade King *William*, that the Flower and Multitude of the Nation is for Presbytery: it were an easie thing for him to put this to the Tryal: Let the *West-Country* People, who are so brave and generous in tearing Ministers Gowns, reduce the Highlanders now in Arms for King *James*, and then let it be granted, that they are the Men they pretend to be: And unless they are able to do this, we must

must judge of them as a clamorous and Inconsiderable Faction, whose Nature it is, to cross and resist every Creature that's but called a King. And it is very wonderful, that all the Civil Magistrates in Christendom do not banish that Supremacy of the Kirk from off the Earth, being equally subversive of all Republicks, as it is indeed inconsistent with Monarchy. The Protestants, in the beginning of the Reformation, thought they did Christendom good Service when they discovered and exposed the Tyranny of the Popish Supremacy over Christian Magistrates; but the very same Doctrine of *Rome* is here hugg'd, as the great Palladium of the Protestant Religion. And to be short, let them swear Allegiance to all the Kings in Christendom, it must be in Subordination to this great Article, that all Persons and Councils must strike Sail to omnipotent Presbytery; they are taught by their hopes of Heaven, to resist the King, when he either counteracts or contradicts the Decisions of the General Assembly, which General Assembly may and ought to meet when and where they please, without or against the King's express Will. These are not imaginary Consequences fasten'd on them and their Doctrine by Art and ill Nature; but the plain History of what they have done here, and by their Principles are obliged still to do. A Liberty to tyrannize over all not, of their stamp, is the Idol they adore: the Kirk Supremacy is by so much the more mischievous, by how much it is more inquisitive, precipitate, and confused than the pretended Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*; but I have digressed too far. If the Disasters under which the Clergy groan were confined to what they have suffer'd in their own Nation, it may be they would endure it with greater Patience. But when the Faction have hired some scurrilous Scribes to defame them abroad by weekly Libels, it cannot but excite Indignation and Pity. There appear'd a Pamphlet lately called *Plain Dealing*; if the Author had been considerable for any thing, he might be sufficiently exposed for his Lies; but being but newly put upon writing of Books, he must be excused if he cannot otherwise support the Faction, but by Calumny; when he is more expert he will defend them with plausible and artificial Stories. It is not worth your while to go through the several Inconsistencies and whining Impertinences that are in that Pamphlet. It is enough to glance at one, by which you may guess at the Man's Impudence, *viz.* That in the Parliament 1685. all the Bishops, except three, were for repealing the Penal Laws against the Papists, when it is known to the whole Nation, that all of them almost were determined to Vote against the Repealing of those

those Laws, if ever that Affair was offer'd in Parliament: and such of them as might be thought to favour the design of repealing those Laws, did sincerely judge their Method in their Circumstances at that time, to be the best Fence and Shelter against Popery; and all their Concessions did not amount to *Minbeer Fagel's* famous Letter, which contained the Sentiments of the present Court.

When the Faction had ruined the Clergy at home, they were afraid they might be pitied abroad; and to justify their Sacrilege and Villany, they endeavour to cover them all under Libels and Invectives, and represent them to other Nations as vicious and illiterate. For the Information of Strangers, I will consider both parts of the Accusation; first, As to the Immoralities alledged against the Clergy, there cannot be a more atrocious and spiteful Calumny: it is not possible for them to convince credulous Strangers, by an open, fair, and visible Tryal, that this is a Lye; for they have no Fence against the Malice and Activity of their Enemies, but their Patience and their Prayers: If their learned and compassionate Brethren in *England* would interpose so far with the present Court, as to have this Affair examined before any impartial Judicature, then such as were found guilty, should be deprived of the Honor of the Priesthood, and not suffered to continue Stumbling-Blocks to the People: but let me acquaint you plainly, that there shall never be such a Judicatory erected; and that it is not the Method of their Enemies, to have things fairly and calmly enquired into: and therefore the Clergy beseeches all generous Strangers to stop their Ears against such wicked and indefatigable Calumniators. They give their Enemies open and publick defiance upon this Head: it is enough that they are banished, rifled, and plundered in the most savage manner, though they be not robb'd of the Compassion of Strangers. It is true, that in the Records of Council, relating to the deprived Clergy, there is a Column containing Immoralities libelled against some of them; but it's as true, that though they are recorded (to make the World believe them guilty) yet they were never examined fairly: the Artifice of their Enemies is mean, as it is wicked; first, to invent Calumnies and Slanders, and then leave them unexamined, boldly to vent them amongst Strangers, when they had not the Confidence at home to give one Instance of such Immoralities, amongst so many Hundreds that have been deprived. How easily and how sadly might they recriminate upon this Head; but that's not so pleasant in it self, nor will it serve the Designs of Christianity. But shortly there shall be a more full, free, and particular Answer given to those scandalous Reports,

ports, in a Treatise ready for the Press. The Persecutions of the Clergy here are beyond any parallel. I cannot forbear to give you one Instance of it; Mr. *John Mowbray*, Minister of *Strachbrook*, complied with the present Government in all its steps (a place not above eight Miles from *Edinburgh*;) yet upon the 12th of *July 1689*, a Company of Fanatics who were sufficiently taught how to behave themselves, entered his House in a hostile manner, tore his Gown, threatened his Life, beat his Daughter, and frightened his Wife to Death: when their Fury was a little over, he ventur'd once again to officiate; but my Lord *Cardross*, Patron of the said Church, and one of the Privy Council, caused lock the Church-doors, and sent his Minister a packing, though he defies the severest Tryal for Life or Doctrine; and all this for no other reason, but because he had Episcopal Ordination; for my Lord's Conscience did not allow him to hear any such.

As to the other Accusation, of their being Ignorant, I would gladly know, who are these learned Gentlemen among the *Scotch* Presbyterians that found them so after Tryal; this is a thing they dare not so much as whisper at home, except it be amongst those good Women that sell Tripes at the *Cow-Gate*. There could not be any thing thought on more comfortable to the Clergy here, than that there were some learned and grave *English* Church-men sent hither to enquire into the Literature and Sufficiencies of both the contending Parties. But this Proposal will never be heard; it's enough that they are once run down with Clamor, Violence, and Noise: But it is no part of their business to have things put to a fair, serious, and open Tryal; they dare not attempt it; and therefore I allow you to defie the Accusers of the Clergy upon this Head also: and to convince Strangers how improbable this Calumny must be, let them consider how much the oppressed Clergy was and is favored by the Honorable and Learned Society of the College of Justice, who are the best Judges in this Case. The Blasphemies and Fooleries that are heard at present from the Pulpits of *Edinburgh*, make up the Entertainment of most Companies: they discourse of the Mysteries of Christianity so coarsly and familiarly as they do of the meanest and vilest things in Nature. But it is not possible that the Regular Clergy can be so ignorant as their Enemies represent them; for the Steps of their Tryal are various and difficult, before they are allowed to preach in publick; and when they are presented to a Church, they undergo the same Tryals over again in Theology, Languages, and Preaching. I never heard that the Presbyterian Genius was very fond of too much Learning, especially among the

Scotch

Scotch Cameronians, a kind of People so wedded to their own peculiar and nonsensical Whimfies, that they are now become Antipods to Mankind in their Language, Behaviour, Morals and Intellectuals. There cannot be any thing imagined more fantastically foolish than the Education of their Preachers; when they have so much Latin as to understand a Dutch System, they are thought profound, and more learned than is necessary; and very few of them arrive at this. Lately one of them who had spent much of his time in selling Butter and Cheese, would turn a Minister; and being asked if he understood Greek and Latin, answered No, he could read the English Bible, and that was enough. It is the saddest Oppression, to be run down with Clamor, and no probability of being heard; but let the Enemies of the Clergy remember the Jewish Proverb, *That he that pulleth a Stone out of the Temple, ere it be long the Dust will fly in his Eyes.* The Ruin and Disgrace of so many Clergy-Men, one would think, cannot be a good Foundation for a new Government. But this is not all; when the Clergy are thrust from their Houses and Livelihoods. It seems there is a further design to starve them, as appears by a late Act of Council promoted by the Presbyterian Party, discharging all Judges within the Nation to pass Sentence in favors of the Clergy for the by-gone Tythes yet unpaid and due to the Episcopal Ministers, until the Parliament take that Affair into their consideration. I have sent herewith a Double of that Act; make what use of it you please: I do not incline it should be printed (tho this should) for that would reflect too much upon the Honor of our Nation. What to do with either, I cannot advise you at this distance. Farewel.

F I N I S.

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